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I had another reason for stopping short at 1206. That date, when England lost Normandy under John, forms a real epoch, I believe, in the internal history of the Jewish communities of England. Hitherto they had been in touch with their brethren abroad and had joined in their spiritual life to the fullest extent. During my researches among both the Latin and the Hebrew records of this period I have come to the conclusion, indeed, that during the last third of the twelfth century the English Jews held the lead in spiritual and literary activity among the Israelites of Northern Europe. I have discovered among them, as I think, a whole school of Massorites and grammarians, a couple of religious poets, a writer on astronomy, several exegetes of importance, and in particular I have vindicated for England one of the most important literary figures in medieval Judaism, Berachyah Nakdan, henceforth, I hope, to be known as Benedict le Puncteur of Oxford. It should not surprise us that the Jews of England shared in the spiritual hegemony which her position as head of the Angevin Empire gave England at the end of the twelfth century over all the Romance-speaking nations of Europe, especially as for nearly twenty years of that time (1182-98) Jews were excluded from French territory by the harsh decree of Philip Augustus.

I have myself translated the greater part of the extracts from Hebrew works which fill one fifth of this volume and are printed in italics. But for two metrical versions of Hebrew hymns I have to thank the poetic skill of my friend Mr. I. Zangwill; while I should never have been able to include the extracts from the *Tosaphoth* or commentaries on the Talmud but for the kindness of my friend Mr. S. Schechter, Reader in Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge. With infinite patience he went through with me all the passages which I had found referred to in secondary sources and thought useful for my purpose. Those that turned out to be suitable Mr. Schechter then dictated to me. I should add that he is not to be held responsible for any of the identifications made in this book between Rabbis mentioned in the *Tosaphoth* and Jews named in the English records. If these turn out to be premature or unfounded, the blame is with me. Even in that case, the extracts will still be of use as throwing light on the spiritual life of Jews who lived under exactly the same conditions of culture as those of Angevin England.

I have other debts of gratitude to pay or express. Mr. I. Abrahams transcribed and translated some passages from Hebrew MSS. at the Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate, while Mr. Herbert Hall

and Dr. Montagu James were good enough to place at my disposal extracts from MSS. which they are engaged in editing. The Editors of the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and the *Archæological Review* have allowed me to reproduce in this volume passages that first appeared in their pages. The Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* and the Syndics of the Clarendon Press have kindly presented me with a couple of the blocks that illustrate the history. For the remainder of the illustrations I have to thank the skill and zeal of Mr. Frank Haes who spent a broiling day at the British Museum in photographing from books or MSS. the material records of the early history of the Jews in this country.

I have also to thank the editor and publisher of this series for allowing me to include in it a volume differing somewhat in design and intention from its fellows. At first intended to contain a selection from printed sources to illustrate the whole history up to 1290, it has grown into an attempt at an exhaustive account, from both printed and manuscript sources, of the Jews of England up to 1206. I might have made it a much more learned looking volume with infinitely less trouble.

Finally, I should like to connect this book with the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition of 1887 and the name of its

originator Mr. Isidore Spielman. It was my work in connection with that Exhibition which convinced me of the enormous mass of available material for the history of the Jews in this country, especially in its medieval phases. I was at the same time convinced of the duty of English Jews to make this accessible, and I am grateful for the chance that has enabled me to perform part of this duty.



INTRODUCTION.

THE JEWS OF ENGLAND UNDER THE ANGEVIN KINGS.*

The presence of the Jews in early England was due to a financial experiment of the Norman Kings, rendered necessary by the policy of the Church towards "usury," but which ultimately became impossible owing to its costly character and the rise of popular religious feeling due to the Crusades and the Friars. There is no evidence of their existence as a class in England before the Conquest, though the Gallo-Jewish slave-traders probably paid flying visits to these islands, the result of one of these visits being the re-entrance of England into the fold of the Church. William of Malmesbury distinctly states that the Conqueror brought them over from Rouen, and there is no evidence against his statement. There are only the slightest traces of the existence

* Up to 1206; I adopt this *terminus ad quem* with Miss Norgate in her *England under the Angevin Kings*. The loss of Normandy in 1206 was even more eventful for English Jews than for Englishmen in general.

of English Jews under the Norman Kings, and we only begin to get specific and detailed statements about them with the accession of Henry II. By far the greatest bulk of the present volume is concerned with the fifty years succeeding his accession in 1154.

No other country possesses such rich historical materials for the early middle ages as England. The early centralisation of the Government, and the comparative absence of civil war, account for this. It is not surprising, therefore, that the history of the Jews in England during the twelfth century is much more full than that of France, Germany, Italy, or Spain, which did not practically exist as historic entities at so early a period. From the accession of Henry II. we have full and often minute details of the outer life of the English Jews, and we are not without much information as to their inner life and spiritual activity. The English records are not only remarkably rich but they enable us to see the rise of the peculiar position of the Jews, whereas, in other countries, the mists first dissolve when the status of the Jews had been definitely and permanently degraded by the action of Innocent III. In England, on the other hand, we start with comparative equality, and the more rigid restrictions of the thirteenth century are not to be found, or only in slight measure, till the reign of John. It was the Church, and the

Church alone, that produced whatever was peculiar in the position of the Jews in Angevin England.

THE CHURCH AND THE JEWS.—The position of the Jews in mediæval Europe, and therefore in Angevin England, was entirely determined by the attitude of the Church towards them. State and Church were one, and none could belong to the State who did not belong to the State Church. The Jews, as the arch-heretics, the hereditary enemies of the Church, the Anti-Christ incarnate, were regarded as naturally incapable of forming part of a community which was a Christian brotherhood as well as a political organisation.

The means adopted by the Church to ensure the sacro-sanctity of the body politic was to connect every public office with religious ceremonials of some kind or another. No office could be entered upon without an oath, and the simplest form of initiative ceremony involved the formula, "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti," which no Jew could accept and remain a Jew.* In this way every part of the national life was at least formally Christianised. Even such a simple thing as taking a farm involved, in feudal England, paying homage, which was again

* A survival still exists in the reception ceremony of Bachelors of Art at Oxford and Cambridge. I had to apply for special permission to have the words omitted on taking my degree at Cambridge.

connected with the religious formula. Besides this, the whole economic life of England was bound up with the institution of guilds, and these were as much religious confraternities as trade unions. Owing to the close connection of the Church with the national life, the Jew could find no career in agriculture, trade, public or municipal office.

At the same time the Church had some reason to fear a rival, or a least a disturbing element, in the Jew. After all, the Christianity of Early England was but a thin veneer over a thick crust of underlying paganism, much of which still survives in the form of folk-lore. The position of the Jews was crucial to her claims. As she had to recognise them as the people of God, their non-acceptance of her claims was doubly damaging. Hence the eagerness with which she urged their conversions; hence, too, the increasing bitterness with which she regarded them as her attempts at conversion failed. There is a marked increase of acrimony between the controversy of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, with R. Simeon Chasid, from Treves, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the treatise of Peter of Blois, *Against the Perfidy of the Jews*, at the end of the century. This may have been accentuated by the public derision cast by the Jews on the more assailable sides of Catholicism—the worship of

images and the creation of miracles. The Jews of England were painfully interested in miracle-mongering, as the myth of the "blood-accusation" —the alleged murder of Christian children at Passover for ritual purposes—first arose in England in connection with the case of William of Norwich, boy and martyr, 1144, and was undoubtedly encouraged by the Church, as it brought more custom to the shrines involved. Two other cases occurred—Harold, the boy-martyr of Gloucester, in 1168, and Robert, boy and martyr, of Edmondsbury, in 1181—before the close of the twelfth century. Besides all this, there are signs that Judaism had begun to attract converts in England, and thus threatened to be a rival. Altogether the Church made its anti-Jewish enactments more oppressive towards the end of the twelfth century in England, and especially attempted to keep the Jews more isolated from their fellow-citizens, and to drive them out of every department of public life.

THE CHURCH AND USURY.—There was, however, one sphere of activity which the Church left open to the Jew by closing it to the Christian. To a certain extent she made practicable the socialism of the early Church. Through misinterpretation of Luke VI. 35, translated by the Vulgate, "Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes" (but really meaning, "Lend, never des-

pairing," R.V.), all addition on the repayment of a loan was regarded as strictly forbidden. It was also interpreted to mean (by St. Augustine, or Pope Julius, for example), that no addition was to be expected on the price of goods bought. In other words, the Church declared against capitalism of any kind, branding it as usury. It became impossible in Angevin England to obtain the capital for any large scheme of building or organisation unless the projectors had the capital themselves.

Here was the function which the Jew could perform in England of the twelfth century, which was just passing economically out of the stage of barter. Capital was wanted in particular for the change of architecture from wood to stone with the better classes, and especially for the erection of castles and monasteries. The Jews were, indeed, the first in England to possess dwelling-houses built with stone, probably for purposes of protection as well as of comfort. And as a specimen of their influence on monastic architecture, we have it on record that no less than nine Cistercian monasteries of the North Country were built by moneys lent by the great Aaron of Lincoln, who also boasted that he had built the shrine of St. Alban. It was chiefly, then, the smaller barons and the monasteries that needed the capital of the Jews, and it is characteristic enough that their chief persecutors came from precisely these two classes.

The Church prohibition of "usury" would have been ineffective if the State had not followed suit. If the usurer had merely to fear the spiritual terrors of the Church, the practice might not have been very greatly checked. But the State followed suit by confiscating the chattels of a usurer who died in his sin, and applied the provision quite impartially to Jew or Christian. This provision brought about a curious result when there came to exist a class of men like the Jews of Angevin England, whose sole function was to be usurers or capitalists. The State as represented by the king became the universal lēgatee of the whole Jewry, and thus was brought into immediate connection a sort of sleeping partnership, with Jewish usury.

THE KING AND THE JEWS. — The result of the Church's attitude towards Jews and towards usury was to put the king into a peculiar relation towards his Jewish subjects. The Church kept them out of all other pursuits but that of usury, which it branded as infamous; the State followed suit, and confiscated the estates of all usurers dying as such. Hence, as a Jew could only be a usurer, his estate was always potentially the king's, and could be dealt with by the king as if it were his own. Yet, strange to say, it was not to the king's interest to keep the Jews' wealth in his own hands, for he, the king, as a good Christian,

could not get usury for it, while the Jew could very soon double and treble it, since the absence of competition enabled him to fix the rate of interest very high, rarely less than forty per cent., often as much as eighty. As the Jew might die before the debt was due and the king be then content to take a much smaller sum as a composition for the debt, it was often the debtor's interest to keep the debt standing. The usury was in the nature of a bet against the Jew's life. The only useful function the Jew could perform towards both king and people was to be as rich as possible, just as the larger the capital of a bank, the more valuable the part it plays in the world of commerce. No wonder the expression "rich as a Jew" passed into a proverb; as applied to the English Jew of the twelfth century, it was as tautologous as saying "rich as a bank."

The king reaped the benefit of these riches in several ways. One of his main functions and main source of income was selling justice, and Jews were among his best customers. Then he claimed from them, as from his other subjects, fines and amerciaments for all the events of life. The Pipe Rolls contain entries of fines paid by Jews to marry, not to marry, to become divorced, to go a journey across the sea, to become partners with another Jew,*

* There was a special reason why the king claimed compensation for a partnership between Jews. Debts to the firm would not fall into his hands when one of the partners died.

in short, for all the decisive events of life. And above all, the king got frequent windfalls from the heirs of deceased Jews who paid heavy reliefs to have their fathers' charters and debts, of which, as we have seen, they could make more profitable use than the king, to whom the Jew's property escheated not *quâ* Jew, but *quâ* usurer. In the case of Aaron of Lincoln the king did not disgorge at all at his death, but kept in his own hands the large treasures, lands, houses and debts of the great financier. He appears to have first organised the Jewry, and made the whole of the English Jews his agents throughout the country. Aaron's treasures were lost at sea, but his debts amounted to some £20,000, more than half the king's income, and required a special branch of the Exchequer, the *Scaccarium Aaronis*, with two treasurers and two clerks to look after them, for many years to come.

This great windfall, which occurred in 1187, must have opened the eyes of the king's officials to the profitable source of income that lay in Jewish usury; three years later they learned the dangers to which this source was liable. The *émeutes* of 1189-90, culminating in the York massacre, had as one of their objects the destruction of the deeds and charters of the Jews; in York they were burnt in the Minster. The loss sustained by the king led to the organisation

of the Jewry in 1194, when the "Ordinances of the Jewry" were promulgated; these provided for a full record of all Jewish business to be kept in the king's hands, so that he might know exactly how much each Jew was worth, and how much he could extract from him. The Exchequer of the Jews of the thirteenth century, with its Star Chamber, devoted to the *Shetars* of the Hebrew usurers, grew out of the "Ordinances of the Jewry," but lies beyond the limits of our present purview.*

For, in addition to these quasi-regular and normal sources of income from his Jews, the king claimed from them—again as from his other subjects—various contributions from time to time under the names of gifts and tallages. And here he certainly seems, on occasion at least, to have evercised an unfavourable discrimination in his demands from the Jews. Iu 1187, the year of Aaron of Lincoln's death, he took a tenth from the rest of England, which yielded £70,000, and a quarter from the Jews, which gave as much as £60,000. In other words, the Jews were reckoned to have, at that date, one quarter of the movable wealth of the kingdom (£240,000 against £700,000 held by the rest).

Altogether, in these various ways, I reckon that the English kings in the latter half of the twelfth

* See the excellent paper of Dr. C. Gross on the subject in *Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, 1888.

century drew an average a sum of £3,000 per annum from their Jews. As his whole income did not reach much more than £35,000, the Jews contributed one-twelfth of his resources. It was somewhat as if they contributed £7,000,000 to the Budget now-a-days. They acted the part of a sponge for the Royal Treasury, they gathered up all the floating money of the country, to be squeezed from time to time into the king's treasure-chest. I fancy that at one time in Henry II.'s reign, it was contemplated making them the king's taxgatherers, as they were in Spain and elsewhere. I find several items in the early Pipe Rolls of that monarch which show that the sheriffs of the counties were directed to pay over the cash balances of the ferm of each county—the main source of the king's income—to certain Jews. But this ceases suddenly, owing, as I imagine, to the discovery that Strongbow's mission to Ireland had been financed by the Jews. The king found that Jewish money could be utilised by others for purposes which were not exactly in his own interest.

The king was thus, as we have said, the sleeping-partner in all the Jewish usury, and may be regarded as the Arch-usurer of the kingdom. By this means he was enabled to bring pressure on any of his barons who were indebted to the Jews. He could offer to release them of their debt of the usury accruing to

it, and in the case of debts falling into his hand by the death of a Jew, he could commute the debt for a much smaller sum. Thus the Cistercian abbeys referred to above paid Richard I, 1,000 marks instead of the 6,400 which they had owed to Aaron of Lincoln.* And as the king pressed the barons, so these passed on the pressure to their inferior vassals, from whom they demanded grants in aid to free themselves of Jewish indebtedness. It was only in this way that the lower tenantry were affected by Jewish usury, since they conducted their own business mainly by barter, and had no reason to resort to the Jews.

Thus, owing to the attitude of the Church towards the Jews and towards capitalism, the king was made the Arch-usurer of his realm. It must, however, be emphasised, as the point is new, that the king, as king, did not enter into any special relation with his Jews *quâ* Jews. He treated Christian and Jewish usurers alike, and claimed their money at their decease with remarkable impartiality. *(Dial. de Scacc. II. x.)* The state knew of no disability of Jews for any position (apart from the initiatory ceremonies

* It was doubtless owing to this insecurity that such high interest was paid. The debtor was practically betting against the life of the Jew. If he died before payment was exacted, he might get off for a much smaller sum.

involving Christian oaths).* I have even come across evidence of Jews paying knights' fees, and there is overwhelming evidence that they held many manors as liens if not as fiefs.

This anomalous relation of the king to his Jewish subjects led to some conflict of interest. Thus, as a good Christian, he would naturally desire to see them converted, but as king he would lose their services as informal tax-gatherers. He therefore claimed as compensation the goods and chattels of a Jew who became converted, and we find the Church complaining of the disabilities thus placed on the convert; nor was she oblivious of the king's sinful participation in Jewish usury.

Yet it was the Church that was ultimately to blame for the state of things which the Church blamed. The anomalous position of the Jews in medieval Europe was due to the intolerance of the Church which rendered it impossible for them to become citizens of their native country without abjuring their ancestral faith. The whole story is made sordid by the persistent way in which the Church closed every career to the Jew except usury. It may be allowed to one who is both Englishman

* Curiously enough, the whole Parliamentary struggle for the emancipation of the Jews raged round the form of the oath to be taken by Jewish M.P.'s.

and Jew to express his regret both that Angevin England saw no other means of giving its Jews employment except as thumb-screws of the Royal Treasury, and that the mediæval English Jews had not the manhood to refuse to accept a livelihood, however lucrative, which was only possible by the oppression of their fellow-citizens.



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The Jews of England under the Norman and Angevin Kings.

Before 690.—The laws of the Church about the Jews.

Ancient Laws (Rec. Com.) Theodosius. *Liber Poenit.*

I.—If any Christian woman takes gifts from the infidel Jews or of her own will commits sin with them, let her be separated from the church a whole year and live in much tribulation, and then let her repent for nine years. . . . But if with a pagan let her repent seven years. xvi. 35.

II.—If anyone shall despise the council of the Nicene Synod and make Easter with the Jews on the fourteenth of the moon, he shall be cut off from the whole church, unless he do penance before his death. xxx. 4.

III.—If any Christian accepts from the infidel Jews their unleavened cakes or any other meat or drink and share in their impieties, he shall do penance with bread and water for forty days; because it is written "to the pure all things are pure." . . . xlii. 1.

IV.—If any Christian sell a Christian man, although his own slave, into the hand of Jews or pagans, and by this, separated from the Catholic Church, loses his Christianity, he is not worthy to rest among Christians until he redeems him. But if he cannot redeem him let him give the price he received for him and redeem another from slavery, and for three years let him refrain from flesh and wine and mead; and on the lawful holidays in each week let him fast till nones and chew his food dry. But if he be poor and peradventure hath not wherewith he might redeem another, yet from his own labours let him give something and repent seven years. xlii. 3.

V.—It is allowable to celebrate mass in a church where faithful and pious ones have been buried. But if infidels or heretics or faithless Jews be buried, it is not allowed to sanctify or celebrate mass; but if it seem suitable for consecration, tearing thence the bodies and scraping or washing the walls, let it be consecrated if it has not been so previously. xlvii. 1.

Before 766.

Ecgberht, *Excerptiones (Anc. Laws)*.

cxlvii. A Laodicean canon.

VI.—That no Christian presume to judaize or share in their feast.

cl. A canon of the saints.

VII.—If any Christian sell a Christian man into the hands of Jews or pagans, let him be anathema: as it is written in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 7).

[All the outside evidence, negative and positive, is against these provisions being directed against Jewish residents in Anglo-Saxon England. There is no reference to Jews in Bede or the Old English Chronicles (till 1144). The rich collection of charters in the six volumes of Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* has not a single mention of Jews. The reference in the Laws of Edward the Confessor is an interpolation, *temp.* Hen. II. And the positive evidence of the late settlement is equally conclusive. See *infra* pp. 4-6 for actual dates given for the first settlements of the Jews in Cambridge, Oxford, and London. When examined closely, these laws do not necessarily apply to Jewish residents in England, even if they were intended for actual application at all, and were not merely copied from Continental codes. II. and probably III. and VI. do not refer to Jews personally, but rather to Jewish practices about Easter, on which there was a burning quarrel in the mediæval Church, whether Easter should be held on the same day as the Jewish Passover or not. (See Appendix V. to Mayor and Lumby's edition of Bede.) Nos. I., IV.—VII. would equally apply to passing visitors, and, above all, to slave merchants, and I am inclined to think actually did so apply. In Anglo-Saxon times there was no room in the national economy for persons like Jews, who could not join the guilds, and had no scope for usury in a country living almost entirely by barter (Ashley, *English Commerce*, I. i., c. i. § 6, p. 43). The chief export of England consisted of slaves (*ibid.*, p. 70), and we know that the Jews were the great dealers in this class of commodity. Altogether, therefore, I am inclined to refer the ecclesiastical ordinances to passing intercourse with Gallo-Jewish slave-dealers, and not to any permanent Jewish population of England before the Conquest. I would bring this conclusion into connection with the famous incident at the market-place of Rome, which led to the Christianising of England, and brought it into the European concert. We find Gregory, when he became pope, complaining of the sale of Christian slaves to Jewish slave-dealers in the north of Gaul (*Epistolæ*, ix. 35, 109, 110), and it is probable, therefore, that they likewise crossed the Channel. Remembering that slaves have no nationality, I

would suggest that if Gregory had stated the prosaic fact in his world-famous remarks about the chubby, blond-haired lads exposed for sale on the Roman slave-market, he would have said, "*Non Angli nec angeli sed—Judæorum servi.*"]

810.—Jews flee from Germany to England and Spain.

Joseph Cohen *(1575)*, *Emek Habacha (Heb.)* p. 12, *sub anno.*

In the year 4570 [A.D. 810] *Christians and Moors fight one another, and men of high station were brought low, and for Israel also that was a time of trouble. For many Jews fled from the sword from Germany to Spain* and England, and many congregations who hesitated to fly hallowed by their death the God of Israel by refusing to renounce Him, and thus there remained in Germany scarcely a remnant or refugee on the day of the Divine wrath.*

[This is the only evidence I can find for the existence of Jews in England at this time, and it is very late and uncorroborated, since there is no contemporary evidence of any such persecution of the Jews in Germany as is here presupposed.]

1075.—Jews settle in Oxford and Cambridge.

Anthony à Wood, i., p. 129. Fuller, *Camb.*, p. 8.

9-10 Guliel I. About this time I find the Jews settled and their number great in Oxford, as in several scripts it appears, particularly in that of Brumman le Riche, made to the said church of St. George at its first foundation, by which giving to the

* M. Isidore Loeb (*Revue des études juives*, xvi. 52) proposes to read *Tsarfath* (France) for *Sepharad* (Spain), as German Jews would naturally flee to France, not Spain. I regard the mistake as another proof of the unreliability of the record.

canons thereof land in Walton, in the north suburbs of Oxford, warranteth it to them "against Jews."

[Wood quotes a Christ Church MS. *Reg. Osney*, fol. 9 b. Fuller, *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 8, fixes the date of the first Jewish settlement in that town in 1073.]

1086.—A Jew in Domesday.

Domesday 154, 160*b*.

Oxenef'scire.

Jernio has one mansion returning sixpence be-
[one mansion returning fourpence at Blecesdone.*
longing to Laton. The son of Manasse has

. . . . . .

Alwi sheriff holds from the king two hides and a half at Blicestone.

This land Manasses bought from him without license of the king.

[The somewhat unusual name Manasses,† combined with the fact that a special license was required by him for buying the land, perhaps indicate that he was a Jew. See Parker, *Early History of Oxford* (1885), pp. 224, 257.]

Dorsete, f. 77.

The same bishop holds Staplebridge. . . . . Of the same land Manasses holds three virgates which William, the king's son, took from the church without the consent of the bishops and monks.

[Here again there is something irregular. The king's son was William Rufus, who favoured the Jews. See next item.]

* This entry is inserted as if by an afterthought, part of it being above the line as here. See the facsimile prefixed to Parker.—*Early History of Oxford.*

† Biblical names, however, were not so rare. Both Abraham and Isaac occur in Domesday, though without any other indication of Jewish origin. See Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* v. 858.

c. 1090.—The impiety of William the Red.

Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta* iv. § 317, ed. Duffy, p. 500.

Of his insolence towards God the Jews in his time gave a proof; once at Rouen, when they re-called certain who had escaped from their errors back to Judaism,* endeavouring to influence him by gifts. Another time at London, he animated them against our bishops to a contest because, he in joke indeed, I believe, said that if they conquered the Christians and confuted them with open argument he would join their sect. Accordingly the thing was done to the great fear of the bishops and clergy, fearing with pious solicitude for the Christian faith. And from this contest the Jews received nothing but confusion, though they often boasted that they had been conquered not by speech but by deeds.

[Another MS. reads:—] The Jews who dwelt in London, whom his [Rufus'] father had brought thither from Rouen,† approached on a certain solemn occasion, bringing him gifts; he bent down to them and even dared to animate them to a conflict against the Christians. 'By the face of Luke,' quoth he, declaring that if they conquered he would join their sect.

* Eadmer, pp. 99-101. I have omitted this interesting passage, as it relates to Norman Jews.

† This is a most important passage in its bearings on the first settlement of the Jews in this country. Cf. *supra*, p. 3.

Before 1096. — Friendly dispute of Christian and Jew.

S. Anselmi, *Opp.* ed. 1744, tom. ii., p. 255.

To the Rev. Father and Lord Anselm, Archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, his servant and son, Brother Gilbert [Crispin], proctor and servant of Westminster Abbey, wisheth prosperous continuance in this life and a blissful eternity in the future one.

I send you a little work to be submitted to your fatherly prudence. I wrote it recently, putting to paper what a Jew said when formerly disputing with me against our faith in defence of his own law, and what I replied in favour of the faith against his objections. I know not where he was born, but he was educated at Mayence; he was well versed even in our law and literature, and had a mind practised in the Scriptures and in disputes against us. He often used to come to me as a friend both for business and to see me, since in certain things I was very necessary to him, and as often as we came together we would soon get talking in a friendly spirit about the Scriptures and our faith. Now on a certain day God granted both him and me greater leisure than usual, and soon we began questioning as usual. And as his objections were consequent and logical, and as he explained with equal consequence his former objections, while our reply met his objections foot to foot, and by his own confession seemed equally supported by the testimony of the Scriptures, some of the bystanders requested me to preserve our disputes as likely to be

of use to others in future. . . . . Yet [poor as my work is] one of the Jews* who were then in London, the mercy of God helping, was converted to the Christian faith at Westminster; professing before all the faith of Christ he asked for baptism and received it, and being baptized vowed him to the service of God, and becoming a monk has remained with us.

[Then follows the "Disputation of a Jew with a Christian about the Christian faith."]

Bef. 1096.—Some of the Arguments.

Disputatio, ap. S. Anselmi, *Opp.* ii., 255.

The Jew.—With what reason or by what show of authority do you blame us Jews because we observe the Law given by God? For if it be a good law and given by God it should be observed, for whose command is to be observed if the orders of God be not to be obeyed? But if the Law should be observed, why do you treat those who observe it like dogs, thrusting them forth with sticks and pursuing them everywhere? But if you say it should not be observed, Moses should be blamed who gave it to us to be observed. . . . .

The Christian [makes the distinction between the literal and figurative sense of the words of Scripture.]

The Jew.—If the word of God is to be observed at one time or another so that it is annulled at one time and to be observed at another, and thus in the vicissitude of time the divine sanctions are changed,

* Query, was this the Robert mentioned by Anselm *infra* p. 12? It is scarcely likely, as Robert had a family.

how stands it with the verse, *And God spake once* (Ps. lxi. 12)? Why was it said, *For ever, O Lord, Thy word will remain in heaven* (Ps. cxviii. 89)? . . .

The Christian.—It is true God spoke once, and it is impossible that any word of God can be annulled: the divine sanctions are not changed by any vicissitudes of time, for Christ came not to deliver the law but to fulfil it. . . . . The law prohibits homicide, Christ anger and hatred; the law forbids actual adultery, Christ even the appetite of the heart. The law forbids you to use pork, and at that time abstinence from that animal was necessary for you, since it was a symbol of future truth, and a symbol is to be preserved till the truth itself comes. But now it is necessary neither for you nor for us since the truth of the symbol is present. . . . . [He points out that a new kind of law is prefigured in the words of Isaiah (ii. 3), "the law will go from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." What law if not Christ's; what Lord if not Christ?]

The Jew.—What reason, what Scripture forces me to believe that God can become a man? . . . If there is no transmutation in God nor any shadow of change how could so great a change occur in Him that God could become man, the Creator a creature, and the incorruptible become maculate. "Thou, O Lord, art always the same," (Ps. ci. 27). How could God be always the same although He become a man? If He is infinite how could He be circumscribed in the mean and small dimensions of human limbs? . . .

The Christian.—We do not fear any opposition in this. . . For openly and without the ambiguity of any equivocation Jeremy the prophet thus speaketh, *This is our God, and none will be likened to Him. He has found the whole way of knowledge, and gave it to Jacob His son and Israel His elect: after this He was seen on earth and conversed with men* (Baruch iii. 36-8).

. . . . .

The Jew.—If it be right for Christians thus to read and interpret the Scriptures about Christ, you will find much more that you can interpret in the same way. We do not know your literature, and perhaps you say that many things are written with you that we do not believe to be written with us. . . For really you Christians bring many things from the law and the prophets that are not written in the law and the prophets. For that which you have produced from Jeremy, *Afterwards God was seen on earth and conversed with men*, Jeremy did not say it, did not write it. But if you find it written in Jeremy, I will grant that the rest are said truly. But if you do not find it in Jeremy, give up your great animosity against us, blush for the fiction invented against us, and acknowledge that the original truth in the law and prophets remains with us. . . .

The Christian.—Since Christ is truth, the Christian faith needs no falsity. . . What I brought forward from Jeremy, Jeremy said and wrote. . . . For although it be not in the book which is entitled with the name of Jeremy, still he said it through Baruch, who wrote it out of the mouth of Jeremy (Jer. xxxvi. 4).

. . . . . .

Those who believe in him (Christ) shall not be confounded, as Isaiah the prophet testifieth. As for those who believe Him not, listen about the heathen, *Let all be confounded who adore images and glory in their idols* (Ps. xcvi. 5), and about the Jews, *Let them be destroyed from the book of the living, and with the just let them not be written.*

The Jew.—From that very quotation of yours it can be established that the Christians should be confounded, for they, too, adore images and rejoice in their idols. For you figure God Himself as a wretch hanging on the beam of the cross transfixed with nails—a horrible sight, and yet you adore it, and round the cross you figure a sun having half the form of a boy and frightened, I know not why,* and a moon flying with half the shape of a girl, sad, and showing only the half of her disc †; but sometimes you paint God sitting on a lofty throne and making signs with an outstretched hand, and around him as if for greater dignity an eagle and a man, a calf, and a lion. [All this is condemned by Ex. xx. 4.]

The Christian.—If the law condemns all sculpture and the figure of nothing is to be imitated, Moyses sinned, who figured and painted the similitudes of things; nay, the Lord Himself sinned, who commanded them to be figured and painted (Ex. xxv. 9). . . . . The Christian worships no image with

* A reference of course to Luke xxiii. 45.

† A Cottonian MS. (Tit. D. xxvii.) at the British Museum has this representation on p. 65*b*. As it is of the eleventh century it may be the very one referred to by the Jew.

divine worship, but he cherishes with honour the representation of sacred things, and honors figures and pictures. . . . .

[The above gives the main lines of argument in the treatise which is remarkable for the fair give-and-take of the discussion: the honours seem tolerably equally divided, and the friendly tone is exceptionally conspicuous.]

Bef. 1100.—How to treat a Convert.

S. Anselmi, *Epist.* iii., cxvii.

Anselm the archbishop to Lord Prior Arnulf and Archdeacon William [wisheth] health and the blessing of God.

With the inmost affection of my heart I order you and beg your religion to take care of this Robert, with that joyful piety and pious joy with which all Christians ought to help and assist one fleeing from Judaism to Christianity. Let no poverty or other accident which we can avert cause him to regret haying left his parents and their Law for Christ's sake. . . . Do not let him and his little family suffer any harsh want, but let him rejoice that he has passed from perfidy to the true faith, and prove by our piety that our faith is nearer to God than the Jewish. For I would prefer, if necessary, that there should be spent in this all that belongs to me from the rents of the archdeaconry, and even much more, rather than that he who has fled out of the hands of the devil to the servants of God should live in misery amongst us. . . . For his misery both in victual and in clothing touches my heart. Release my heart from this wound if you love me. Farewell.

c. 1115.—Earliest mention of the London Jewry.

J. E. Price, *Account of Guildhall*, p. 17.

In the ward of Haco* . . . . In the Jews' street [? Old Jewry] the land of Lusbert, in the front on the west side, is 32 feet in breadth. Towards St. Olave's is fourscore and fifteen feet; again towards St. Olave's is 65 feet, and in the front 13 feet. The land in the front is 73 feet and in depth 41 feet, and pays 10s.

[This is from the "Terrier of St. Paul's," a list of lands held by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. The description is not very clear, but seems to apply to two strips of land to the north and south of the present Old Jewry Chambers, which would seem to preserve the outlines of Lusbert's holding after nearly 800 years. A little later there is mention of the house of "Aaron the Jew" in the parish of St. Lawrence. *Ib.*, p. 40.]

1120.—Jews as Owls.

Philip de Thaun: *Bestiary* (Norm.-Fr.), ed. Wright, pp. 123-4.

FRESAIE signifies the Jews in this life,
Because when the Creator would bring them to light,
And he would save them and deliver them from death
They would not receive him nor obey his commands.
They said they had no king but Cæsar,
Therefore God left them and came to us,
And the Prince of death saved us by his death.
We left the old Law which the Jews have for their faith
That they did not understand it prudently when they deserted God,

* Wards were then named after their aldermen, cf. Farringdon Ward.

That is their law and their life, it signifies hard body,*
And thus they do inversely as the bird flies inversely;
It is a bird of night and sings at the approach of evil,
And that is the meaning without fear.
Hell is without light where they sing lamentations,
And we find it written that God himself said,
"My children departed from me and strangers approached to me."
He called the Jews his children, us he named strangers,
The Jews went away when they crucified God,
We are come near and baptised Christians.

1130-1.—How Jews contribute to the Treasury.

Pipe Roll, 30-1, Hen. I, ed. Hunter, pp. 53, 146-9.

1.—And the same Richard son of Gilbert owes 200 marks of silver for the help which the king gave him against the Jews about his debts. 31 Hen. I., Essex, Madox (*Hist. Exch.*, fol. ed. p. 296.)

[The king gained in two ways by helping Christian debtor against Jewish creditor as here, or *vice versâ* as Nos. 4, 5, and *passim*.]

2.—Jacob the Jew and his wife render count of 60 marks of silver for the plea which was between them and the men of Westminster Abbey. They quit themselves to the king by king's writ. 31 Hen. I., Lond., p. 146.

3.—The Jews of London render account of £2,000 for the sick man whom they killed. In the treasury £620, and by payments by king's writ to Rubi gotsce 100 marks of silver and to Manasser the

* Cors dure.

Jew 80 marks of silver and 64 shillings and two-pence . . . for William son of . . . and to Abraham the Jew 15 marks of silver and again to Rabi gotsce 80 marks of silver and they owe £1,166 13s. 4d. 31 Hen. I., 15a (Madox i. 229).

[An enormous sum; probably some charge of magic was involved. Rubi gotsce=Rabbi Joce or Joseph*: his son was Isaac fil Rabbi the chief English Jew in Ric. I.'s time. Rymer; *Fœdera*, i., 51 (ed. 1816)].

4.—Rubi Gotsce and other Jews to whom earl Ranulf was indebted, owe 10 marks of gold for that the king might help them to recover their debts against the earl. 31 Hen. I., 15a Lond. (M i. 227).

5.—Abraham and Deuslesalt, Jews, render account of one mark of gold that they might recover their debts against Osbert de Leicester. 31 Hen. I., 15a Lond. (M i. 227).

[Deuslesalt=Dieu le saut=Isaiah.]

C. 1140.—Laws of the Church about the Jews.

Corpus Juris Canonici, ed. Friedberg.

Just as the Jews are not to be forced to the faith so it must not be allowed to the converted to recede from it [633].

Gratian, *Decr.* pt. I. dist. xlv. c. 5 (col. 161).

Christian slaves bought by Jews should be set at liberty [593].

* It is probable that he is to be identified with R. Jehoseph of Orleans, a Tosaphist or Glossator of the Talmud, who is also known by the name of Joseph Bechor Shor, under which name he wrote an important commentary on the Pentateuch.

Id. ib. dist. liv. c. 13 (col. 211).

Public offices are not to be committed to the Jews [589].

Id. ib. c. 14.

Slaves who come from infidelity to the faith are to be set at liberty [596, 594, 681, 581].

Id. ib. cc. 15-18 (cols. 211-2).

Perfidy of [Jewish] parents [returning] ought not to injure their children [remaining Christian]. [633].

Id. pt. ii., causa I., qu. iv. c. 7 (col. 419).

Heretics, Jews, or pagans cannot accuse Christians.

Id. ib., causa II., qu. vii. c. 25 (col. 489).

How many [eight] months Jews [about to be converted] are to be reckoned among catechumens [506].

Id., pt. III., De consec., dist. iv. c. 92 (col. 1392).

Of Jews and others frequently turning to Judaism [and performing the rite of circumcision, such children to be separated from parents, servants from masters] [633*].

Id. ib., c. 94 (ib).

[Gratian's *Decretum* summed up all the commands of the Church till about 1140, and was usually accepted as authoritative. How far this was so to England is discussed in Bishop Stubbs' *Lectures*, p. 303. The above headings of chapters from it will at any rate give the general attitude of the Church towards the Jews about this time.]

1140.—Church view of Usury.

Gratian, pt. ii., c. xiv., qu. iii., iv.

But that to seek profit beyond the sum [lent] is to demand usury is proven by the authority of Austin,

* The numbers after each entry give the date of the Council or Bull through which the ordinances became part of the Canon Law.

who on Psalm xxxvi. on the verse "All day" writeth saying—

"If you lend a man on usury, *i.e.* if you have given him your money from whom you expect more than you gave, and not money alone but everything more than you have given, whether corn, or wine, or oil, or anything else, if you expect to receive aught more than you have given, you are an usurer, and for that to be reproved and not praised."

. . . . . .

So too Pope Julius: "Whoever at harvest time or vintage, not from necessity but from cupidity, buys corn or wine, let us say at twopence the measure, and keeps it till it may be sold at fourpence or sixpence or more, this we call filthy lucre."

And so too Ambrose in the book on the good of death, "If any accept usury, he doeth plunder, he lives not in life." And so too Austin to Macedonius: "What shall I say of usury which even the very laws and judges order to be returned. Is he more cruel that takes or snatches something from the rich than he who destroys the poor with interest?"

[The objection to "usury" was founded* on the supposed direct prohibition of the Gospel, Luke vi. 35, "Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes" (Vulgate), "Lend, hoping for nothing again" (A.V.), but now translated "Lend, never despairing"

* Later refinements of the scholastics supported the doctrine by the dictum of Aristotle, "money does not breed," which forms the basis of Shylock's and Antonio's contention (*Merch. of Ven.* I. iii.) and on the distinction of Roman law between things *consumptible* and things *fungible*, money being included in the former. Cf. Ashley, l.c., pp. 152-4.

(R.V. following Sinaitic Codex). The prohibition is extended above to all speculation and indeed all capitalism, which was thus rendered disreputable. The State soon followed the Church condemnation with practical measures of confiscation by declaring the personalty of Christian usurers forfeited to the king after death if they died unrepentant. Trade in capital thus became a monopoly of Jews and formed their only *raison d' être* in mediæval states in which Church and State were identical. On the whole subject, which is the key both to mediæval economics and to Jewish mediæval history, see W. J. Ashley, *English Economic History*, I. §§ 17, 22.]

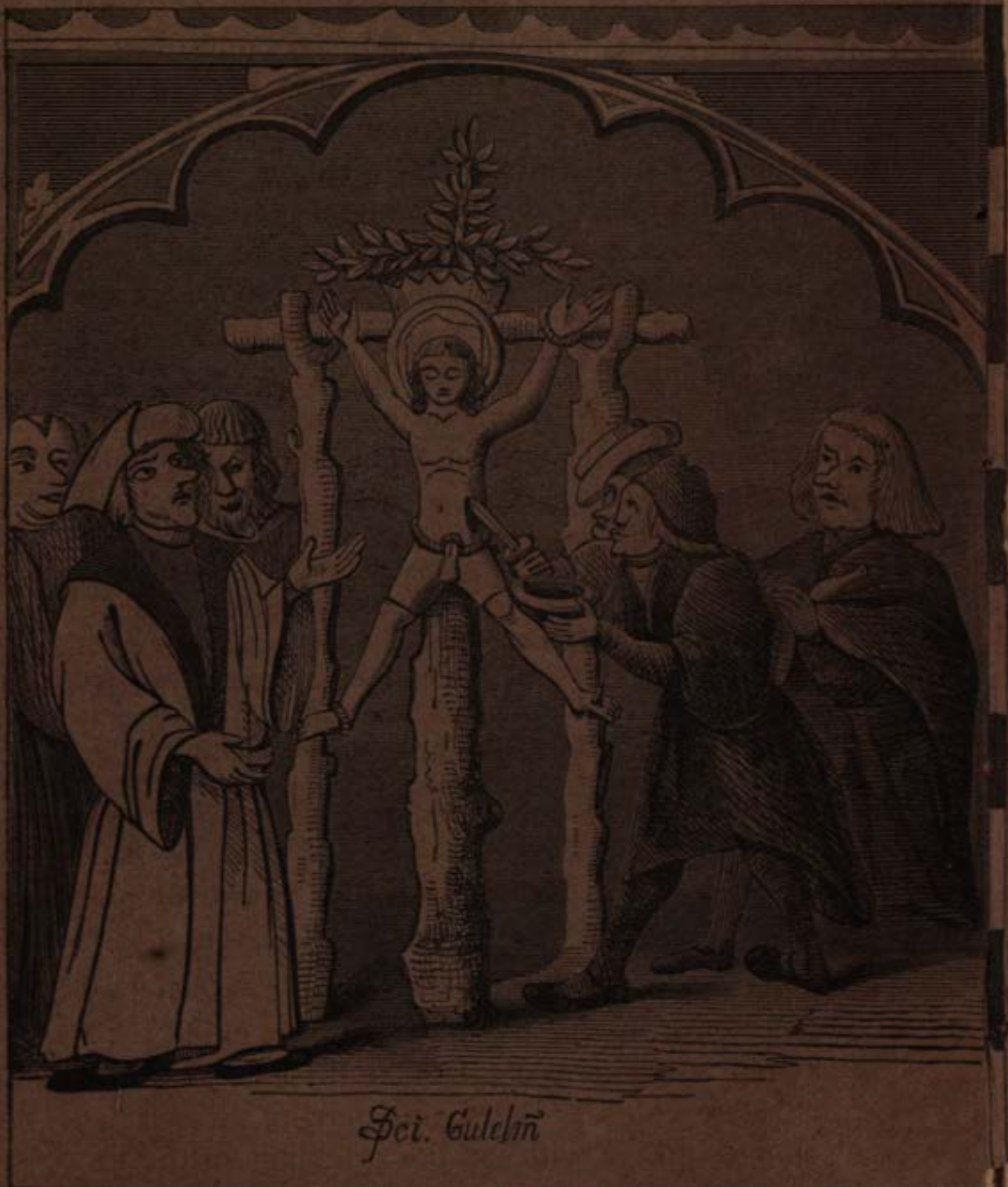
1141.—Jews at Oxford are mulcted by Maud and by Stephen.

Antony à Wood, i 148.

'The Jews about this time that inhabited in S. Martin's parish and elsewhere in Oxford gave to Empress Maud an exchange* and afterward to K. Stephen three exchanges more and an half with all the goods of an outlaw'd and apostate Jew to save their houses from Incendiaries which the said King had placed in divers parts of the city and had before burned the dwelling-house of Aaron, son of Isaac, a Jew. For which causes, as 'tis reported, the same house being situated between the new Inn called Doillyes Inn on the east and Bokenhall on the south, the Clerks of the said Halls, as also of others near them, were relinguished by them and for some time left void.

[Wood quotes excerpts from the works of Friar Nigel. It is usually asserted that these Oxford Jews helped to advance learning in the University.]

* I do not know what an exchange means here.



Martyrdom of William of Norwich.

1144.—The Martyrdom of William of Norwich.

O.E. Chr. Peterboro' MS., sub. an. MCXXXVI.

Now will we say something of what befel in king Stephen's time. In his time the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter and tortured him with all the tortures wherewith our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rood in hatred of our Lord, and afterwards buried him. They thought it would be concealed, but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr. And the monks took him and buried him honourably in the monastery, and through our Lord he makes wonderful and manifold miracles, and he is hight Saint William.

[This is the first case in Europe of the so-called "blood accusation" which has lasted on even to our own days: a case in Hungary attracted great attention only a few years ago. The above is the only really contemporary evidence, but as this is a "leading case" I give Capgrave's account from the "Acta Sanctorum," though this was written in the fifteenth century. The story arose just at the time when the mind of Europe was particularly inflamed against the Jews as was shown by the persecutions in Germany, 1146, and St. Bernard's encyclical, *infra* p. 23.]

The details of the Martyrdom 350 years later.

T. Capgrave († 1494), ap. *Acta Sanct.* Mart. xxv., t. ix., f. 587.

At length on a feast of Passover the Jews dwelling in the city enticed the boy by a trick to enter their houses and suddenly seize [and bind and gag him with intricate knots.] After this, having shaved his head they wound it with infinite prickings of thorns, and raising the little innocent from the ground tried

to stretch him out on the stake. They inflict a bitter wound to his inmost heart on the left side, and to keep back the blood pouring through his whole body they pour upon him boiling water from the head downwards. And thus the glorious martyr went to the Lord. On Easter Day his body is placed in a sack so that it might be taken out of the city to the wood and there secretly buried. And as they entered the wood a certain burgess of Norwich, by name Eilverd, met them, who continued his walk [with them] for a short time. He inquired where they were going and what they were carrying, and, approaching nearer, put his hand upon it and learnt that it was a human body. But they, in fear at being discovered and having nothing to say, for fear took to flight and entered the densest part of the forest, and hung the body on a tree with a flaxen cord.

Entering the town again the Jews go to the council of the sheriff and promise him 100 marks of silver if by his assistance they were freed from their great peril. Eilverd being summoned straightway by command of the sheriff was bound by a powerful oath that during his life he would not inform against the Jews, and up to the last day of his life did not discover what he had seen. But after five years had passed, Eilverd coming to the end of his life is admonished in a vision by the holy boy William not to fear to tell what he had seen to whomsoever he would, and so it was done. While these things were passing within the town, lo, a fiery light suddenly shone out of the sky, which stretched itself towards

the martyr's place. . . . On the sacred Sabbath of Easter a certain nun with some others enters the dense part of the forest before sunrise, and looking up sees the lad hanging on the trunk of an oak, in his tunic and shoes, but with his hair shorn . . . but she saw above him two crows, who desiring to satisfy their ravening hunger tried to tear him with their beaks, but they did not touch him at all, and not being able to keep up, they alighted on each side. Seeing them, the woman giving thanks to God returned home and told what she had seen before all. A crowd, therefore, hastens to the wood, and having noticed the signs of punishment and the deed done, declare that the Jews were not free from the crime, and carry the holy body to burial with rejoicing.

[It is scarcely necessary to point out the improbability or rather the absurdities of the narrative, the unnecessary bribe to the sheriff instead of to Eilverd, the accidental discovery of the body after Eilverd had confessed, the miraculous preservation of the body for five years, the vision and the star.* It is further to be noted that Capgrave disagrees entirely with the Chronicle which declared that the Jews bought William, that they kept him some time, crucified and buried him. All these are a good example of the growth of a myth. Yet the "martyrdom" was believed in by the common people, and led to similar suspicions being entertained in other cases. On the principle "find out who was interested," it is to be remarked that these boy martyrs were very popular and brought custom to the monasteries that were lucky enough to possess the shrine of one.]

* This, however, seems to be an original or early trait of the legend, as it occurs in a German chronicle of the same century. Cf. Pertz. *Script.* vi. 472. "For he being buried without the city, a divine light, so they say, by shining above him pointed out the place."

1146.—St. Bernard's plea to the people of England* on behalf of the Jews.

Bouquet, t. xv. p. 606.

For the rest, my brethren, I advise you, or rather not I, but the apostle of God through me, not to believe in every impulse. We hear and rejoice that the zeal of God burns in you but it should not fail altogether to be tempered by knowledge. You should not persecute the Jews, you should not slay them, you should not even put them to flight. Consult the divine pages. I know what is written prophetically of the Jews, "The Lord will show unto me," says the Church (Ps. lviii. 12) "about mine enemies: do not kill them; never will my people be forgotten." They are living symbols for us, representing the Lord's Passion. For this are they dispersed to all lands so that while they pay the just penalty of so great a crime, they may be witnesses for our redemption.

Nevertheless they will be converted at eve and in time there will be respect to them. At last, says the apostle (Rom. xi. 26), "When the multitude of the heathen shall have entered, then all Israel shall be safe." In the meantime he that dies remains in death.

I keep silence on the point that we regret to see Christian usurers jewing worse than Jews, if indeed it is fit to call them Christians and not rather baptised

* In some MSS. this is headed "to the people of England," in others "to the clergy and people of Eastern France," in others to various German bishops. It was clearly an encyclical. In England it took effect, not so in France and Germany where massacres of Jews took place.

Jews. If the Jews are altogether ground down, how in the end shall their promised salvation and conversion prosper? . . . . It is, too, a mark of Christian piety both to war against the proud and spare the humble, and especially those "of whom is the promised land, of whom the fathers and of whom was Christ according to the flesh" (Rom. ix., 5). But you may demand from them, according to the apostolic mandate*, that all who take up the cross shall be freed by them from all exaction of usury.

1146.—English Jews in Germany.

Regesten zur Gesch. d. Juden in Deutschland, Nos. 234, 293.

In the month of Ellul [11 *Aug.*—8 *Sept.*] *at this time, when the monk Radulf comes to Cologne, R. Simeon, the saint of Triers, came back from England, where he had been for many years, and betook himself to Cologne to go by boat to Triers. On the way he was slain by Crusaders near Cologne, because he would not be baptised. The wardens of the congregation* [*of Cologne*] *obtain from the burghers the delivery of his corpse and bury it in the Jewish cemetery.*

[From the Hebrew martyrology of Ephraim of Bonn.]

Vives [Heb. *Haim* "life"] the Jew from England buys for self and heirs from Vives of Coblence a part of a house in Cologne.†

Bef. 1154.—Early Bible Criticism of "Rubi Gotsce."‡

Geiger, *Parshandatha* Güḍeman, 31.

Gen. iii. 16. [And to the woman he said.] *See how*

* Of Eugenius III., cf. Baroni. *Annales* sub anno 1145.

† The date of the purchase is not determined: somewhere between 1135 and 1165. See *infra* sub anno 1200.

‡ Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

much suffering you have caused to yourself by your sin. Till now there was no necessity to bear children because you were not going to die. But now, as you are to die, if you will have no children, mankind will cease to exist. . . . And the blessing given on the sixth day, "Increase and multiply" (Gen. i, 28), *must have been given after the Fall which made increase necessary. And a further proof that this was so is to be seen in the words "fulfil the earth"; previously it would have been "fulfil the garden." This proves that the blessing was given after the Fall, but was inserted in the narration of the Creation.*

Ex. iii, 5. [And he said draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet.] *Why "from thy feet" (if* na'al *means "shoe")? Because the word* "na'al" *might mean also a glove and this was the* na'al *which Boaz gave to the* Goel (Ruth iv, 8).* *And this is our language* Gant, *and the nobles are still accustomed to clinch a bargain with their* gants *and therefore it was necessary to say put off thy* na'alim *"from off thy foot."*

Gen. vi, 6. [And it grieved Him in his heart.] *Not "in his heart," but "for the heart of man" that it is so wicked.*

Gen. xxvii, 40. *And the vassals are still accustomed, when their suzerain oppresses them too much, to renounce their vassalry saying "Take thy* foi *and thy* homage." †

Ex. viii, 16. *It is a custom with the King and nobles to use* anstur ‡ *and* esprevrir *when they go on the water to catch water-fowl, which they call* rivière.

* Targum on Ruth also explains the passage in this way. (Geiger.)

† See Ducange, s.v. guspire.

‡ Ducange, s.v anstur and spanarius, Littré, s.v riviere.

Deut. vi, 4. [Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God.] *R. Joseph, of Orleans, in his commentary mentions that the name of God had to be mentioned three times because if he would have said 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord is one,' every nation would have said that it was its Lord, and if it had been said "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one," they would have said Israel's Lord is only one of the gods. Therefore, it had to be said "The Lord, who is our God, he is the one and only God." And as to those who went astray who say that there are three parts in one, and therefore He has got the three names, the answer is clear: it would have been necessary to have had them in the next verse "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy might." And according to them it would seem that we need only love two of the Persons, and not the one who went below.*

[These comments are from the Commentary of Joseph Bechor Shor on the Pentateuch. I have for various reasons been led to identify him with the "Rubi Gotsce" of the Pipe Rolls (*cf. supra* p. 15). If so he would be the father of the Isaac fil Rabbi and Abraham fil Rabi Joce who play such important *rôles* in the latter half of the twelfth century.]

C. 1150.—The Jews and the Chatelaine.*

Sepher Hajashar (Heb.) 71a (abridged).

A mighty noble and robber pledged his carriage for twenty deniers with Reuben [John Doe]. *Now Simeon* [Richard Roe] *desired to go on a journey, and Reuben asked for the loan of the carriage. Reuben said "You must first ask permission of the lord," but the lord being out, Simeon asked his lady, who gave him leave. It happened*

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

that on their journey Simeon and his wife passed the lord's castle in the carriage, whereupon, the lady, seeing this, declared she would never sit in the carriage where a Jewess had sate. She sent for Reuben and demanded the carriage back for the profanation, and declared she would make one of her servants swear that it had suffered more than twenty deniers' damage. When Reuben pointed out that she had given Simeon permission she denied it. Reuben now wishes Simeon to pay him the twenty deniers he had lost. A difficulty arose in deciding because they were all connected together, and relatives must not judge. But R. Solomon ben Isaac, who was not a relative, happened to be there, so he and R. Joseph of Orleans put this case before R. Tam.



[By a curious coincidence the seal of this R. Solomon ben Isaac has been found near Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh (see *Cat. Anglo-Jewish Exhib.* p. 189). The inscription upon it tells a strange tale. It is in Hebrew characters, but except the name does not give any sense in Hebrew. On application to M. Isidore Loeb he with the aid of M. Joseph Derenbourg of the Institute discovered that the inscription was Arabic and reads:

Solomon ben Isaac who has donned the turban. May Allah guard him.

He was thus a Jewish convert to Islam. I conjecture that he had "donned the turban" during the Spanish troubles of 1145 and escaped soon after to England, where we find him, after resuming his ancestral faith, the sole stranger among the Jews of London. How his seal got transplanted to Scotland there is nothing to show: it is scarcely likely that he himself travelled so far. The whole account is full of interest as showing the violent prejudices of the upper classes against the Jews, and the circumstance of the seal of the stranger with its equally strange tale being still extant makes the transaction stand out as a unique incident in Anglo-Jewish annals. I may add that it clinches my conjecture of the identity of "Rubi Gotsce" with Joseph of Orleans.]

1155.—When Flemings go, Jews come out of their retreats.

J. C. Robertson, *Materials for History of Thom. Beckett*, iii., 19.

The native nobles were disinherited [in Stephen's time] and alien Flemings and seafaring men seized Kent and a large part of the kingdom, and by the length of the war, almost 20 years, everything seemed so disturbed that it seemed impossible to expel the Flemings. . . . Yet by the mercy of God, and the counsel of the chancellor* [Becket], within three months of the king's coronation, William d'Ypres, the violent seizer of Kent, went abroad in tears, all the Flemings, arms and baggage, go to sea . . . the crown of England is restored, the disinherited get back their paternal property. . . . There is peace everywhere, shields are imported, canlæ are exported, there come forth in safety from the cities

* This is an exaggeration of the chronicler, cf. Miss Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i., 427.

and castles, merchants to the fairs, Jews to seek their creditors.

[" Debtors " he probably means. The passage is significant as showing the importance attributed to Jews in developing trade.]

1155–60.—Jews spread through England.

Pipe Rolls, 2-6, Hen. II.

6.—Richard son of William renders count of 20 shillings for a slain Jew. 2 Hen., II. r 2, m 2, Canteb.

7.—Sheriff of Oxfordshire renders count of 100 shillings from the donum of the Jews. 2 Hen. II., 7 m. 1 Oxon.

8.—And [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Isaac the Jew, son of Rabb. £47 6s. 8d. 3 Hen. II., r. 1 m. 1 Essex.

[The son of the Rubi Gotsce of No. 3, henceforth he is mentioned simply as Isaac the Jew except in Ric. I.'s charter where he again occurs as " Ysaac fil Rabijoce."]

9.—The Sheriff of London renders count of 200 marks for the Jews. The Sheriff of Lincolnshire renders count of £40 for the Jews. The Sheriff of Cambridge renders count of 50 marks from the donum of the Jews. The Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk renders count of £44 6s. 8d. for the Jews of Norwich, £30 for the Jews of Thetford, £15 for the Jews of Bungay. Bonenfaund pays 100 s. for his brother Morell. 5 Hen. II., 5b. 8a. 2a.

[These were probably all the communities of Jews in England (Madox i. 222) though we find isolated individuals at Newport and Canterbury in Richard of Anesty's accounts of his borrowings about this time, also at Winchester see next No.]

10.—Gentill the Jewess owes £15 that she may not wed a Jew. 6 Hen. II., Winton.

[She pays next year. It is not clear whether she objected to a particular Jew or wished to remain unwed altogether. If the former, was it a case of breach of promise or was her cruel guardian forcing her into a *marriage de convenance ?*]

May, 1158.—Abraham Ibn Ezra dedicates his work, *Yesod Moreh* to Joseph ben Jacob in London.

S. Rosin: *Reime des Abraham*, (Heb)., pp. 77-8.

God is One; through all His Spirit flows,
So high is He, no man His greatness knows.
Only man's mind in the work the Worker spies;
E'en the sceptic's doubt proves what he denies.
His people, when on Sinai's Mount arrayed,
Saw in the flames His Majesty displayed;
No image beheld: one was chosen to receive*
What each should know and all believe.
I long have sought for wisdom in His Law
Till some of its secrets I thought I saw;
And now will I build for it a mansion fair,
And reverence I place for its supporters there.
Thanks be to God that I've brought it to an end;
Thanks for supporting me to Joseph Jacobs, His friend.

[These lines are the dedication of a treatise entitled *Yesod Moreh*, "Foundation of Religion," written by Abraham Ibn Ezra,† traveller, wit, commentator, theologian, astronomer, and mathematician, during his visit to England in 1158, as we learn from the colophon: *I, Abraham, the Spaniard, son of Mier, called Ibn Esra, began to compose this book and wrote it in the City of London, in the island of Angleterre, in the month Tamuz* (May), *and it was brought to an end in the month Ab* (June), *in four weeks in the year* 4918 (1158) *of the Creation.*

* Moses.

† Browning's "Rabbi ben Ezra" (Furnivall *Bibliography*, p. 162).

(See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi. p. 415). This Joseph ben Jacob of Moreil (? Moreilles in La Vendée), wrote a super-commentary on Ibn Ezra's commentary on Genesis in which he says "*I, Joseph ben Jacob of Moreil heard* viva voce *from this sage* [Abraham Ibn Ezra] *the explanation of this passage and wrote it down in my own words* (*Vide* Dr. Neubauer's *Catalogue of Bodleian Heb. MSS.*, No. 1234 (9), col. 486). I cannot identify him with any well-known English Jew of the time, unless with a "Morell," who, with his brother "Bonenfaunt," is mentioned just at this date in the Pipe Roll of 5 Hen. II. (1158-9), *Cf.* Pipe Roll entry, No. 9.]

1158.—The state of Hebrew learning among English Jews.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Jesod Moreh* (Heb.), c. i.

Among the students of Israel there be some whose whole knowledge consists in the knowledge of the Massora, its noble signs and useful hints, the various readings. . . the number of verses, words, and letters in each book [*of the Old Testament*]. . . *The Massoretic student who has learnt nothing else is like a camel clothed in silk: the silk is no use to him, and he does not suit the silk.*

There are others whose study is confined to the grammatical study of the [*Hebrew*] *language, to the forms of conjugation, radical and servile letters, nouns, &c. . . It is true that it becomes a sage to learn something of this science, but he should not spend all his days in reading the oldest grammarian, R. Jehuda,* the ten books of R. Merinus,† and the 22 books of R. Samuel hanagid.‡ . .*

* R. Jehuda H. ajug of Cordova at the beginning of the eleventh century, regarded as the founder of Hebrew grammar.

† R. Jonah Ibn Gannach called in Arabic Abulwalid Merwan (983-1050), who wrote the most important grammar and lexicon of Hebrew, both in Arabic.

‡ Vizier to Caliph Habuss of Granada (1027-55) and head ('Nagid') of the Jews of Arabic Spain.

There are others who are always thinking of the Law, the Prophets, and the holy writings, and also on the Aramaic translation, and think, because they try to obtain the true sense with all their might, they have reached the highest excellence. The Law is in truth the source of all life, and the foundation of all the commands of God, but not a single sage can understand completely a single command from the written Law unless he learns the explanation of the oral Law. . . . . In general all the commands need an explanation according to the traditional teaching of the fathers, especially the determination of the festivals, whether they depend on the average or the real new moon . . . and from which place the new moon is to be reckoned for between Jerusalem and this island [England] there are four whole hours during which the sun lights them, as can be proved with rigid proof from astronomy. . . .

But there are many wise men who do not know the Massora, in whose eyes grammatical study is also vanity, who have not studied the Scriptures, still less its explanation, but have from youth upwards studied the Talmud, which is an explanation of the Mishna. These explanations are different, and they use a special method with all of them; for from the Talmud we know all the commands which a man shall follow and so live . . . . [For the Talmud you need a knowledge of Bible, astronomy, mathematics, psychology, and dialectics]. The Talmudic authorities of our time follow various methods. Some read the book to discern between the forbidden and the permissible: others devote themselves to legends, and find out new interpretations and seek a reason for the

spelling of each word whether full or contracted. . . Others devote themselves to the Talmudical books in order to excel the rest, wherefore they chiefly deal with the book of civil law. And they deserve a divine reward for this since they teach the erring and redress the wronged, but if the Israelites were just, this part of the Talmud would not be necessary. . . . . .

He alone who knows the doctrine of phœnomena and its demonstrations, the art of dialectics by which are established the axioms that are the guardians of the wall of reason, who has learnt astronomy according to accurate deductions drawn from arithmetic, geometry, and the art of computing ratios, he alone, I say, can arrive at any high degree in knowing the mysteries of the soul, of the Supreme Being, the angels and the future world from the sacred Law and the sayings of Prophets and Rabbis of the Talmud. He shall increase in knowledge and understand profound mysteries which are hidden in the eyes of many, and we shall now treat of some of these. . . . . The Lord sees the purity of my heart and knows that I have not written this book that I might appear to know His wisdom, nor that I should pretend that His mysteries have been made clear to me, so that boasting of this I should oppose our ancestors: for I know well that they were much wiser and more pious, and there are besides men of the highest wisdom still living. But I have composed this book for the use of my most venerated patron, who, under my*

* Doubtless the Joseph ben Jacob mentioned in the introductory poem. What were the other books written for him? Could this refer to the Pentateuch commentary ended in "Rodoz" or "Dovres" (? Douvres=Dover).

guidance, has devoted himself to the other books which I have written for him, and led by my great love for him I have laboured to write a treatise on the laws for him. For I saw in him a man loving truth and excelling others in religion and piety.

[In connection with the precedence given here to the Massora or traditional textual criticism of the Bible, it may be remarked that three of the chief authorities on this subject in the twelfth century, Moses Hanakdan, Samuel Hanakdan, and Moses ben Isaac, were English Jews. See my note on this subject in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol., i. p. 182.]

The Laws of Moses.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Jesod Mora.*

There is a fundamental law which commands us to observe all the divine enactments, positive and negative. This precept, Ye shall serve the Lord your God (Ex. xxiii. 25) *includes all the laws to be kept by heart, word or deed, whether primary laws or those serving to record them in memory. . . Many commands have lost their force, as that of hyssop* (Ex. xii. 22), *of the manna* (ib. xix. 11). . . . *Some commands are imposed on the whole people, as burnt offering, shew-bread, libations: others belong to certain distinct families, as the duties of a prince, of a high priest, and the rest of the priests and Levites, the number of whose duties is very great. Several precepts are given to male and female indiscriminately, some to men alone, as the redemption of the first-born, others to women alone, as concerning vows. . . . There are many laws relating to a certain time, . . . but many laws depend neither on time nor anything else, and these are imposed on all, male and female,*

king, priests, rich and poor, Israelites and proselytes, well and sick. There is one law for all, and such precepts are primary. These primary laws are ingrained in the mind . . . and were known by the power of the mind before the law was declared by means of Moses, and there are many of this kind as, e.g., *those of the decalogue except the Sabbath: these were only repeated by Moses. . . . There are also commanded certain pious works by which we are reminded of the primary precepts, as the observance of the Sabbath in memory of the creation of the world, Passover, unleavened bread, tabernacles, inscriptions on our doors, phylacteries of hand and head, fringes of garments. . .*

All the precepts are to be referred to three things, (1) *to piety of the heart,* (2) *to words,* (3) *to deeds. And as unity is contained in every number, so the beginning of every pious act by deed or word is internal piety, without which all worship is false and of none avail.*

[The conception that the primary laws of morals are common to all mankind is a characteristic Jewish one, and led logically to the tolerant dictum that "the pious of all peoples have a part in the life to come." On the other hand it tended to check zeal for proselytism.]

The Aim of Life.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Jesod Mora*, c. vii.

But I have found a verse which includes all the precepts, Fear the Lord your God and serve Him (Deut. vi. 13). . . . . *Man was created for this, and not for heaping up riches nor for building houses to be left for others while he himself shall be in the grave, nor for enjoying the delights of food, for pleasures remain*

but a few moments, are obtained by great efforts, and often bring many evils. . . . For the sage considereth that his life is but short and his soul is in the power of his Creator, nor knoweth he when it shall be snatched away. Therefore it behoveth him to inquire sedulously what can move him to love God, learn wisdom, and investigate belief till he recognises and understands the works of God. It is not like a sage to waste his time in mundane trifles, but to pass a solitary life, learning and meditating on the hand of God and obeying His commands. Then will God open his eyes and mind and renew the spirit placed in his bosom.

[This passage will give a higher idea of the aims of the better class of Jews. It is to be remembered that it was addressed to Jews, and conveys a covert rebuke to their "heaping up money" and "building houses."]

Dec. 1158. — Introduction to Abraham Ibn Ezra's Sabbath Epistle.

Kerem Chemed (Heb.), iv., 158.

'Twas in the year 4919 [=1158 A.D.] *at midnight, on Sabbath eve, the* 14*th of Tebeth* [=Dec. 7th], *that I, Abraham Ibn Ezra, a Spaniard, was in one of the cities of the island called the 'corner of the earth,'* [=Angleterre] *for it is in the last of the seven divisions of the inhabited earth. And I was sleeping and my sleep was pleasant unto me. And I looked in my dream and behold beside me stood one with the appearance of a man and a sealed letter in his hand. And he addressed me and said, "Take this letter which the Sabbath sends thee." And I bowed down my head and worshipped the Lord and blessed the Lord which had given it to us, which had honoured*

me with this honour. And I laid hold of it with my two hands and my hands dropped mith myrrh. And I read it, and in the beginning it was as honey for sweetness. But when I read the concluding lines my heart waxed warm within me, and my soul almost departed, so that I asked him that stood by me, "What is my trespass? What is my sin? For from the day that I knew the Lord which created us and learnt His commandments, I have always loved the Sabbath, and before she came I used to go out to meet her, and when she departed I used to speed her with gladness and with singing. Who among her servants has been as faithful as I? Wherefore then has she sent to me this letter?" And this is it:

I am the Sabbath, the crown of the law of the chosen ones, the fourth among the Ten Words.

And between the Lord and His sons I am the perpetual sign of the covenant for all generations.

In me God completed all his works and so it is written in the beginning of the books (Gen. ii. 2).

And of old manna did not fall on the Sabbath day that I might be a proof to the generations.

*I delight the living on earth and give repose to the multitude of the dwellers of graves.**

I am the joy of men and of women, old and young rejoice in me.

With me the mourners mourn not, nor do they bewail the death of the just.†

Man-servant and maid-servant find rest and the strangers within the gates,

And all the beasts repose that are in the service of man: horses, asses, and oxen,

* There is truce in hell during the Sabbath.

† For seven days after burial mourners sit on the ground, &c.: this is not done on the Sabbath.

*And all who are wise both sanctify and conclude the feast with wine those who indulge in it as well as abstainers.**

On all days they find the gate of wisdom. On my day the hundred gates are opened.

I am honoured by not doing thine own way nor "clutching after business" nor speaking vain words (Is. lviii. 13).

I have preserved thee at all times because thou hast observed me from the days of youth.

But in thine old age an unwitting transgression has been found in thee, for they have brought into thy house books,

In which it is written to profane the Sabbath eve, and how canst thou be silent and not swear vows

To compose letters in the way of truth and send them to all sides?

And the messenger of the Sabbath answered and spoke to me "She has been told what thy pupils brought yesterday to thy house, books of commentaries on the Law, and there is it written to profane the Sabbath eve; do thou gird up thy loins for the honour of the Sabbath to wage the battle of the Law with the enemies of the Sabbath and do not treat any man with partiality" (Lev. xix. 15). *And I awoke and my anger was kindled within me and my spirit was very heavy and I arose and warmed the fire in me and put on my garments and I washed my hands and brought the books into the light of the moon*† *and there was written an explanation of Gen.* i. *"And the evening and the morning," namely, that when the morning of the second day came then one whole day had passed, for the*

* The beginning and end of the Sabbath is celebrated by tasting a cup of wine.

† The book probably was the commentary of R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) on the Pentateuch. He could not light a light because of the Sabbath. We can tell that 7th Dec., 1158, was full moon because it was the 14th of the Hebrew lunar month.

night is reckoned as part of the preceding day, and then I almost rent my garments and the explanation too, for I said it is better to profane a single Sabbath than allow Israel to profane many Sabbaths with fire if they saw the wrong interpretation. And we should all be exposed to ridicule and scorn in the eyes of the Gentiles. But I refrained myself for the honour of the Sabbath and I took an oath not to give sleep to mine eyes after the conclusion of the holy day till I had written a lengthy letter to explain when was the beginning of the day of the law to remove every stumbling block and to clear away snare and pitfall."

[If the day began at daybreak, the Sabbath would begin then and Jews might light fires, &c., from Friday sunset to Saturday at sunrise. To obviate this sin Abraham ibn Ezra wrote his Sabbath epistle founding the orthodox Jewish custom on the mention of "evening" first in the first chapter of Genesis.]

1159-63.—Richard of Anesty gets into debt.

Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii., pp. xxiv.-vii.

These are the costs and charges which I, Richard de Anesty, bestowed in recovering the lands of William, my uncle, to wit. . . . . In the first year of my plea [1159], when I sent John, my brother, beyond seas for the king's writ, I borrowed the forty shillings which I spent from Vives, the Jew of Cambridge, upon usance, a groat a week for the pound, and I kept the moneys during fourteen months, and I rendered for hire of the same thirty-seven shillings and fourpence; and this was on the third day after mid-Lent. And at Easter

following, the said Vives lent me again sixty shillings at a groat a week for the pound, which I kept six months, and for hire thereof I rendered twenty-four shillings. And when I myself crossed the sea for the king's writ for pleading then Comitissa of Cambridge * lent me four pounds and ten shillings, which I spent on the journey, at a groat a week for the pound, which moneys I kept nine months, and for which I rendered for usance fifty-four shillings. And when I went for Master Peter at Stafford, then Bonenfaunt, the Jew, lent me fifty shillings, at a groat a week for the pound; these moneys I kept five months, for which I rendered for usance sixteen shillings and eightpence. And at the clause of Pentacost [May 22, 1160] when I pleaded at Canterbury, then Dieu Lacresse, the Jew, lent me forty shillings, which I kept two months, at a groat a week for the pound; for which I rendered for usance, five shillings and fourpence. And when I crossed the water to obtain licence to appeal to Rome, then Jacob, the Jew of Newport,† lent me sixty shillings, at a groat a week for a pound, which I kept thirteen months, for which I rendered for usance fifty-two shillings. And when I sent my clerks to Rome [March 7, 1161], then Hakelot, the Jew, lent me two pounds at the rate of threepence a week for the pound, which I kept seven months, and for which I rendered for usance sixty shillings and tenpence.‡

* *Cf. Pipe Roll*, item No. 15.

† See *Pipe Roll*, entry No. 21.

‡ There is something wrong here. The proper interest is about 14s.

And after Michaelmas, when we first pleaded in the court of the Bishop of Chichester and Abbot of Westminster [Oct. 6, 1161], then Hakelot,* the Jew, lent me sixty shillings at threepence a week for the pound, which I kept three months, and for which I rendered for usance nine shillings. And at the feast of St. Martin, when we pleaded again in the court of the said judges, then Jacob, the Jew of Newport, lent me seventy shillings at a groat a week for the pound, which I kept eight months, and for the usance whereof I rendered thirty-seven shillings and fourpence. And at the same time Benedict, the Jew of London, lent me ten shillings at twopence a week, which I kept three years, and for which I rendered for usance twenty-six shillings. And when I carried the writ of my appeal to Winchester to the bishop of Chichester that it might be sealed there, then Jacob the Jew lent me an hundred shillings at threepence a week for the pound, which I kept ten months, and for which I rendered for usance fifty shillings. And when I sent my clerks again to the Apostolical court [Oct.-Dec., 1162], then I borrowed four pounds from Hakelot, the Jew, at threepence a week for the pound, which I kept six months, and for which I rendered for usance twenty-four shillings. And when I went to my pleas at Windsor [March 31, 1163], then Dieulacresse, the Jew, lent me forty shillings at the rate of threepence a week for the pound, which I kept four months, and for which I rendered for usance eight shillings. And in

* A diminutive of Jacob.

the same journey to Windsor I borrowed half a mark from Brun, the Jew,* at three halfpence a week, which I kept ten weeks, and for which I paid for usance fifteen pence. And in the same journey, when I was at Reading, Halekot, the Jew, whom I found there, lent me thirty shillings at threepence a week for the pound, which I kept five months, and for which I paid for usance seven shillings and sixpence. And when my uncle's land was decreed to me at Woodstock, then Mirabella, the Jewess of Newport, lent me four pounds and ten shillings at a groat a week for the pound, which I kept a year, and for which I rendered for usance seventy-eight shillings. And when I rendered to Ralph the physician, his moneys at the first term, Hakelot, the Jew, lent me seven pounds at threepence a week for the pound, which I kept a year and a half, and for which I rendered for usance six pounds and sixteen shillings and sixpence. And at the next time of payment Comitissa, of Cambridge, lent me one hundred shillings, which I kept two months at threepence a week for the pound, and for which I rendered for usance ten shillings. At Easter last it was two years since I paid fifty marks of silver into the Exchequer in part of my promise to the king, of which Hakelot the Jew lent me twenty pounds at twopence a week for the pound, and I yet owe the principal and all the interest, and the hire hath mounted up to twenty-six marks of silver. Again, at the Easter following, I paid twenty-five marks of silver into the Exchequer, of which Hake-

* See *Pipe Roll*, entry No. 29.

lot, the Jew, lent me seven pounds at twopence a week for the pound, and for which I yet owe him the principal and all the interest, and the usance has mounted up to sixty shillings and eightpence. And at Michaelmas I paid into the Exchequer ten marks, of which Hakelot, the Jew, lent me forty shillings at twopence a week for the pound, which I kept three months and for which I rendered for usance four shillings.

[Altogether Richard borrows £91 6s. 8d. and pays or owes for usury £51 8s. 5d., very nearly the proverbial "60 per cent." It is noteworthy that the Jews lend on less interest after one or two transactions, though the lowest, twopence in the pound per week, is over forty per cent. per annum. The whole story is probably a typical one of the huge profits the Jews obtained from litigious clients. The legal fees had to be paid in coin, of which the Jews were the only large holders in the country.]

c. 1164.—Cities and Jews have their own Laws: Why not Clergy?

J. C. Robertson, *Mater. for Hist. of Thom. Becket*, iv., 148.

Behold, London is the chief seat of the kingdom of the English. If its citizens are accused, if they are summoned to the pleas of the crown, they answer in their own city, they are judged by their own laws: they do not purge themselves by the laws of battle, or the ordeal of water or red-hot iron, unless they choose these of their own accord, but there their oath is the end of all controversy. . . . So, too, for the Jews, by the proposed law their oath is the end of all lawsuits, whether civil or criminal. Would it not seem to thee unworthy, my lord the King,

unless the clergy were granted a privilege which is indulged to lay citizens or Jews ?

[This occurs in a state paper, addressed to Henry II., probably with some reference to the Constitutions of Clarendon. Jewish law, as fixed by the Talmud, is administered among Jews by a tribunal known as the *Beth Din*, "House of Judgment," composed of three *Dayanim*, or Judges; these seem to have been called "Bishops" in England, v. p. 45. It seems that Henry had just granted a charter giving jurisdiction to the *Beth Din*. A confirmation of his charter was given by John, *Rot., Cart.*, i., 93. Jews in Germany had the same privilege; and in 1168 the Bishop of Catania, in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, issued the rescript: "Latins and Greeks, Jews and Saracens, let each be judged according to his own laws." Lagumina, *Codice Diplomatico*, p. 12.]

1166-9.—Jews as Ferm-gatherers.

* *Pipe Rolls*, 12-15, Hen. II.

11.—William of the Isle renders count of the ferm of Lincolnshire . . . and [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Aaron the Jew £29 8s. 10d., which are counted to him in the ferm of the county and owes £12 4s. 9d. He renders count of the same debt in the treasury £2 6s. 9d. new money for £2 4s. 9d. blank money, and £10 in two tallies, and is quits. 12 Hen. II. Rot. i. mem. i. Linc.

[The great Aaron of Lincoln, see Nos. 24, 42, 56, 70. In other parts of the same roll the Sheriffs of Norfolk, Yorkshire, Hants, Essex, Rutland, Cambridge, Oxford, and Bucks claim similar credit for sums paid to him, amounting in all to £587 3s. 10d.]

12.—Hubert de Lalega and Richard fil Osbert render count of £4 13s. 11d. blank of the old form of Bucks and Bedford, and £17 10s. new money

[Cr.] By payment of King's writ to Isaac the Jew £4 18s. 7d. new money and £0 13s. 11d. blank. And to the same £17 10s. new, and are quits. 12 Hen. II. Rot. i. mon. i^{b}.

[Son of Rabbi Joce, *vide* Nos. 3, 4, 8, 22, 24. The Sheriffs of Kent, Northampton, Gloucester, Dorset, Essex, Bucks, Oxford, Lancashire, Norfolk, Cambridge, Devon, Hants, claim similar credits in other parts of the roll for sums amounting in all to £743 13s. 10d., the cash balance of their ferms. In 8 Hen. II., the amount was £102 13s. 4d., in 9 Hen. II. £26 16s. 8d., in 10 Hen. II. only £12 11s. 3d. In 14 Hen. II. the honor of Eye settles with the King by payment to Isaac of the large sum of £479.]

13.—Abraham fil Rabbi owes £2000 for an amerciament. The King orders that nothing more be exacted from him for this Roll but let them be erased from the roll by his own writ. 12 Hen. II. 10^{b}.

[A brother of Ysaac fil Rabbi of preceding No.* The sum is enormous=probably £100,000 at the present day.]

14.—Samson, Jew, son of Samuel, owes 3 marks of gold for a writ to have his debts, but is not to be found. 14 Hen. II.

[The entry is repeated 16 Hen. II. with the addition "But he has fled to France." The full entry is kept in the rolls of the 18th, 19th, and 21st years. It is clear that Sampson had "done" the King by first getting a writ to collect his debts, and then decamping to France without paying the £18 (of silver) which he owed the Treasury.]

15.—Comitissa Jewess of Cambridge and her sons

* I have suggested that he is to be identified with Abraham Ben Joseph of Orleans, an important Tosaphist or Glossator of the Talmud. See *supra* pp. 15, 26.

and the Jews of Lincoln render an account of 7 marks of gold for the Lincoln Jewess whom a son of Comitissa married without the King's license. 15 Hen. II. 12b. Lond. and Midd.

[A son David fil Comitissa is mentioned 6 Hen. II. 5a. Canteb., and another, Isaac, 25 Hen. II., see No. 33.]

c. 1168.—An Israelite Bishop without Guile.

J. C. Robertson, *Materials for Hist. of Thom. Becket*, iv., 151.

And so too that well-known saying of Henry of London was heard by many. For there were one day in the Church of St. Paul at London many bishops and abbots taking cognizance of certain ecclesiastical cases by order of our lord the Pope, and with them a great multitude of clergy, citizens, soldiers, and others. There chanced to enter certain Jews of London, who mixed with these and others in seeking for their debtors if they might see them. And among them comes a certain Bishop of the Jews.* And to him Henry said in joke: "Welcome, Bishop of the Jews! Receive him among ye, for there is scarcely any of the Bishops of England that has not betrayed his lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, except this one. In this Israelite Bishop there is no guile."

["Bishop" was the term applied in England to each of the three *Dayanim* or Judges who constituted the *Beth Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal which decided cases between Jews.]

1168.—Harold, the Boy-Martyr of Gloucester.

Hist. San. Petri. Glouc., ed. Hart. i. 20.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and sixty-

* Probably Deodatus. See *Pipe Roll* entries, 30 and 31.

eight the boy Harold, who is buried in the Church of St. Peter the Apostle, at Gloucester, near the altar of St. Edmund the Archbishop, and of St. Edward King and Confessor, on the north side, is said to have been carried away secretly by Jews, in the opinion of many,* on Feb. 21, and by them hidden till March 16. On that night, on the sixth of the preceding feast, the Jews of all England coming together as if to circumcise a certain boy, pretend deceitfully that they are about to celebrate the feast appointed by law in such case, and deceiving the citizens of Gloucester with that fraud, they tortured the lad placed before them with immense tortures. It is true no Christian was present, or saw or heard the deed, nor have we found that anything was betrayed by any Jew. But a little while after when the whole convent of monks of Gloucester and almost all the citizens of that city, and innumerable persons coming to the spectacle, saw the wounds of the dead body, scars of fire, the thorns fixed on his head, and liquid wax poured into the eyes and face, and touched it with the diligent examination of their hands, those tortures were believed or guessed to have been inflicted on him in that manner. It was clear that they had made him a glorious martyr to Christ, being slain without sin, and having bound his feet with his own girdle, threw him into the river Severn. [The body is taken to St. Peter's Church, and there performs miracles.]

* Even the chronicler puts it doubly doubtfully.

[This is the only at all full contemporary account of any of these boy-martyrs, and the inadequate nature of the evidence on which the death of the lad was attribnted to the Jews is obvious even to the narrator, who honestly enough confesses that no Christian saw the deed, no Jew owned to it, and the tortures "were only believed or guessed" to have been inflicted. It was obviously to the interests of a monastery to be connected with such a "martyrdom," and to a mediæval conscience there could scarcely be much harm in taking "guesses" as proofs if no one was physically harmed by such a proceeding, especially as it seemed impossible to take away any such thing as a good name from a Jew, or add to his bad one. In short, "Give a Jew a bad name ——"]

1168.—How to Obtain Money from the Jews.

Gervase of Canterbury, ed. Stubbs, i. 205.

[Ambassadors from the Emperor solicit Henry's alliance, and are loaded by him with presents.] For the sake of these ambassadors the King caused the richer Jews to cross the Straits and leave England, and exacted from the rest 5000 marks.

[The richer Jews were probably sent away as a kind of hostages. Something similar seems to have been done nine years later. See *Pipe Roll*, entry 29.]

Bef. 1170.—Canon of a Rabbinic Synod of North-West Europe.*

Revue des études juives, t. xvii., p. 69.

The sprout flourisheth and becomes a serpent biting men without warning (Eccl. x. 11), *like dead flies collect in the ointment of the apothecary* (ib. x. 1).† *And therefore for the sake of the people we have strengthened*

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

† Allegorical reference to the increase of Jewish informers against Jews.

the hands weary with the labours of the unicorn (Nu. xxiii. 22), *to raise the head bowed hitherto to the feet, to wipe away the tears that flowed to Eglaim* (Is. xv. 8), *in order that the boasts of the cursed folk may not increase who bring a bad name upon us and upon our children by throwing arrows in the dark, bending their tongues with lies in secrecy and still more in public, and nowadays the robbers of our people have exalted themselves to bring things to light* (Dan. xi. 14), *with their mouths and with their hearts to destroy* [us;] *and many of them accustom themselves to sin, denouncing both secretly and openly through the Gentiles, both lords and common people, and in both cases intending to commit sin. Therefore we have taken counsel together, we, the elders of Troyes, of Dijon, of Auxerres, of Sens, of Orleans, of Chalons, of Rheims, of Paris, of Melun, of Etampes and their neighbourhoods; of Normandy, of the Coast of the sea,* of Anjou, of Poitou; and of the great men of Lothair* [Lorrain.] *Of the towns heretofore mentioned some have already consented, while from others we have not heard their words, but as the thing is important, we have counted upon them that they are of those who, being great men, follow the little ones* (Talm. *Rosh Hash.* 25 b.), *and the judgment is a true judgment* (ib. Aboth iii. 16), *and if it is not written down yet, it ought to be written down; and we have numbered, taken votes, and put in excommunication, and decreed every man or woman, far or near, who summon his neighbour before a Gentile tribunal, or compel him through Gentiles, whether lord or common man, ruler*

* I assume this to mean England; the neighbouring lands mentioned were under English rule at the time.

or official, unless the consent of both has been given beforehand in the presence of pure Jewish [qualified] *witnesses. And if the matter comes round indirectly, and is heard by the Government or Gentiles generally, and thereby one can compel the other, we again decree and excommunicate such a man, to redeem his neighbour from their hands and give him peace against the Gentiles on his side, so that he may suffer no damage or be in fear, and thus not lose what he has demanded from him; and he has to do this according as the seven good men and true* [elders] *of the place decide, and if there are no elders in the place, those of the nearest community. And we also decree against any intimidation of the elders by means of Gentiles. . . .* [Details of the excommunication follow.] *And we, the undersigned, ask all the frequenters of the court to punish, by means of the Gentile courts, all who trespass against our decrees.*

[The Government granted permission to the Jews to have their own tribunals (cf. *supra* p. 43). It is curious to see the early appearance of the principle of "boycotting" applied to those who would not submit their disputes to the Jewish tribunals, but applied to the Gentile courts. The main object of the decree was, however, to check delation and denunciation by Jewish *mauvais sujets*. The Synod at which the decree was passed was attended by 150 Rabbis. Another decree passed was to oblige the dower of a bride who died without issue in the first year of married life to be returned to her relations. At a very much earlier Synod, under the presidency of R. Gershom, "The Light of the Exile" (c. 1000 A.D.), the Jews of Western Europe agreed to forsake polygamy.]

c. 1170.—From the Dialogue of the Exchequer.

Dial. de Scacc., II. x.

M.—These, brother, are what I said the Sheriff

brought to the Exchequer, though no summons preceded them. So a treasure dug out of the earth, or otherwise found; so, also, when anyone who has a lay estate, or citizen who deals in public usury; if he dies intestate, or made a will without having made those satisfaction whom he hath defrauded, his money and his movables are immediately confiscated, and they are brought to the Treasury. But the heir of the deceased enjoys the paternal estate and real property.

S.—An important question puzzles me in regard to what you have said of usurers, which I desire you will be pleased to explain more fully. For you said, "when anyone having a lay estate, or citizen has employed himself in public usury, &c.," from which words there seems to be a certain distinction among those who thus offend. And from what is added, "has employed himself in public usury," one may suppose that some are not public, in which if anyone engages I am wholly ignorant if he is subject to the laws of public usury.

M.—But thus much concerning this: what has gone before will fully resolve the former part of your question, inasmuch as a clerk who is employed in usury forfeits the privilege of his dignity, so he deserves the same punishment as a layman; that is, all his movables shall fall to the Treasury. The Royal Authority would not do a Christian-like action was it to proceed thus against a clerk or layman who had offended, while he was living, for there is time to repent. But when he is dead, all his goods (the

Church laying no claim to them) become the King's.* It remains to show what is public, and what is not public, usury. We call that public and common usury when, according to the manner of the Jews, anyone takes more by agreement of the same species of money than he lent: as a pound for a mark, or twopence for a pound of silver, for a week's interest besides the principal. We do not call that public, but damnable usury, when anyone takes a church or an estate for what is lent, and receives the profits of them till the principal is paid off.

[The State thus followed up the Church condemnation of usury by confiscating the personalty of those who died in that "sin." In this regard equal measure was dealt out to both Jew and Christian, and if a Jew's property fell into the king's hand at his death that would be no more than would happen if a Christian were a usurer.]

1170.—A Jew finances the Conquest of Ireland.

Pipe Roll, 16 Hen. II.

16.—Josce Jew of Gloucester owes 100 shillings for an amerciament for the moneys which he lent to those who against the King's prohibition went over to Ireland. 16 Hen. II. 5b. (M. 379).

[This is clearly a reference to Strongbow's expedition in August 1170, which resulted in the conquest of Waterford and Dublin, and roused Henry's fears that Richard of Striguil would create an independent kingdom in Ireland. The expedition would have been impossible without financial help, for Richard had no independent means, and William of Newburgh (ed. Howlett, Rolls Series, i, 167-8) states that his chief motive in

* Many instances of Christian usurers and usuresses are given by Madox, *Hist. of Exch.*, p. 237, folio edition.

going to Ireland was to escape from his creditors. "He went in defiance of an express prohibition from Henry, and it was on hearing of his victories—*i.e.*, some time in the latter part of 1170—that Henry confiscated his estates" (Miss Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii., 103; cf. Barnard, *Stronbow's Conquest of Ireland*, p. 40). But for the aid of Josce he could not have gone, and the whole incident affords another illustration of "the economic interpretation of history." It also shows how important it was for the king to have absolute control of the transactions of the Jews, the only bankers by whom great enterprises could be financed.]

17.—Benedict Jew of Norwich, son of Deodatus, renders account of £20 for the sacred vestments which he took in pawn. 16 Hen. II. Norf. and Suff.

[Paid the following year. Madox, *Hist. of Exch.* i. 228.]

Bef. 1171.—A Difficult Question.*

R. Jehuda says in the name of R. Eleazar: A man must not betrothe his daughter while a minor; he must wait till she attains her majority and can say "I love this man." (*Talmud, Kidd*, 41*a*.)

And as to our custom at the present day [twelfth century] *of betrothing our daughters while still minors, that it is because persecutions wax more frequent every day, and if a man can afford to-day to give his daughter a dowry, he fears that to-morrow he may not be able to do it, and then his daughter would remain for ever unmarried.* (Tosaphoth, *ad locum.*)

There came a case before R. Tam that the son of R. Hosea Levy was engaged to the daughter of a rich man. And he said "Thy daughter is engaged to me," without mentioning any name, and he did not say which daughter.

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

On this R. Tam said that the eldest one was betrothed, ... quoting Gen. xxiv. 26, "*It must not be done in our country to give the younger sister before the first-born.*" *But R. Menacham of Joigny was against this decision.* (Tosaphoth, *Kidd* 52*b*.)

I hear that it happened once in Troyes that Isaac the son of R. Hosea the grandson of R. Menacham was betrothed to the daughter of R. Morel of England. But he had three daughters all minors and the name of the betrothed was not mentioned, and he was compelled to divorce all three. (Hagahoth Maimuni. *Hilc. Nashim.*)

[As it was not certain which daughter he was betrothed to, none of them could be married to him or else he might be transgressing Lev. xviii. 18. On the other hand none of them could marry another man, for they might be committing bigamy. The simplest way out of the difficulty was for him to divorce all three. One of them afterwards married Josce Crispin. See *Pipe Rolls*, item No. 119.]

Bef. 1171.—A point of Jewish Law.*

Mordecai. *Baba Kama*, x. 169.

R. Tam answers R. Jacob of Orleans who put the following question. If Reuben commissions Simeon to receive money from a Gentile and the Gentile pays too much by mistake and then goes away and no one knoweth where he is, to whom does the extra money belong? [*R. Tam decides after complicated arguments that it belongs to Reuben.*]

[Renben and Simeon are the John Doe and Richard Roe of Talmudic Law. R. Tam, the grandson of the celebrated Talmudist and commentator Rashi, died in 1171. Jacob of Orleans was killed during the *émeute* following Richard I.'s coronation. *Cf. infra, sub anno.* It is therefore probable that the above difficulty was sent by R. Jacob in London to R. Tam in France.]

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

C. 1171.—A Weighty Decision.*

Mordecai, *Ab. Sara* (Heb.) ii. 826.

The question is whether you may buy milk from a Gentile drawn from the animal without any Jew being present. R. Benjamin of Canterbury forbids it, even in the case where the Gentile has no unclean animal among his flocks.

[R. Benjamin of Canterbury is mentioned in a list of mediæval Rabbis drawn up by R. Solomon Luria (Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, vi. 365). "After R. Samuel, our Master Tam was chief. With him studied the chief Rabbi R. Jacob of Orleans . . the chief Rabbi R. Joseph Bechor Shor . . and R. Benjamin of Canterbury."]

Bef. 1171.—The Jews of England inquire whether they may eat Barnacle-geese.

R. Meir of Rothenburg (†1293) *Resp.* (Heb, ed. Lemberg, No. 160).

On the question whether geese "growing on trees" may be eaten by Jews. My teacher, the Lion [Sir Leon of Paris †] told me that he had heard from his father, R. Isaac, that R. Tam‡ directed that they should be slaughtered after Jewish fashion, and sent this decision to the sons of Angleterre.

[This is the first appearance of the curious legend about geese growing on trees (Barnacle geese), of which Prof. Max Müller has an interesting account (*Science of Language*, ii, 583-604). If authentic, this account disproves Prof. Müller's etymological theory of the origin of the legend since R. Tam died in 1171 and *Hibernican* geese (from which the folk-etymology is traced) can

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

† Whom I have sought to identify with Leo Blund.

‡ R Jacob ben Meir († 1171) grandson of Rashi (R. Solomon ben Isaac) the great Jewish commentator on Bible and Talmud.

scarcely have come to England before the Conquest of Ireland. R. Tam allowed them to be eaten. Later authorities declared them unlawful. The Church also (l.c. 594) declared against their suitability for food during Lent.]

1172.—A Decree of the Council of Avranches.

Benedict the Abbot, ed. Stubbs, i, 34.

Clergy and Jews are not to be placed under jurisdiction to be administered by the secular powers and those who presume to do this let them be cut off from ecclesiastical benefits.

[This may be compared with the passage on p. 42. The Church, seeing Jews given separate jurisdiction, claimed the same on the very ground that Jews already had the right.]

1172-6.—Jewish contributions to the Treasury.

**Pipe-Rolls*, 18-22, Hen. II.

20.—The Jews of Cambridge owe half a mark of gold for having an agreement amongst themselves. 18 Hen. II. Canteb.

[They pay next year. This probably refers to some important case brought before the *Beth-Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal of the Jews at Cambridge. *Cf.* Nos. 34, 50, 75. John confirmed to the Jews a charter legalising such tribunals. *Rot. Cart.* i. 93.]

21.—Jacob, Jew of Newport, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold, for a plea between him and William de Muntfichet. In the treasury 6os. and owes 6os. 18 Hen. II. Essex and Hertf.

[Pays and is quits. 20 Hen. II.]

22.—Jurnet, Jew of Norwich, and Isaac son of Rabbi, owe 4 marks gold that the king may grant a

partnership between them of their chattels. 21 Hen. II. Lond. and Midd.

[The entry remains till 29 Hen. II., when it is added "but they could not yet have it (the partnership)." *Cf.* No. 39. Jurnet is one of the most important Jews of the time. He is mentioned in the Chronicle of Edmondsbury, *cf. infra* p. 62, and frequently in the Pipe Rolls, see No. 67.]

23.—Avigay, who was the wife of Jacob, owes 200 marks to have custody of her boys. 21 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd.

[Pays 22 Hen. II. by King's writ to Edmund Blund. This Avigay (Abigail) is frequently mentioned in the transactions of the time, and her son Abraham became one of the chief men of the London community.]

24.—(The sheriff accounts for the ferm of the counties) and [Cr.] by payment by king's writ to Aaron of Lincoln and Ysaac Jew, £80. 22 Hen. II. Dorset and Somerset.

[The sheriff of Northumberland pays in a similar way £68, the balance of the ferm to the same two Jews who, as we have seen above (Nos. 11 and 12), were unofficial ferm gatherers. See also No. 30.]

25.—Richard Malebysse renders count (and is quits) of 100s. for his relief. 22 Hen. II. Honour of Eye.

[He was the ringleader of the York massacre. He came into possession of the paternal estates this year and paid a "relief" for holding them. Within less than 15 years he was deeply in debt, as we shall see later on.]

26.—Serfdeu, Jew, owes 10 marks gold [£60 silver] for having the debts of his father. 22 Hen. II. Hantsc.

[Pays and is quits, 23 Hen. II. This is a common form of entry. Thus next year Ursell accounts to the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk for 10 marks for the same.]

27.—Cresselin, the Jew, owes one mark of gold to have seisin of the land which Adam de Port of Wales had mortgaged to him. 22 Hen. II., Hantesc.

[Repeated 23 Hen. II. and in 26 Hen. II., with the addition, "But he has not got it," which is probably explained by the next entry in which Adam de Port accounts for 2000 marks as a fine for his land. Cresselin is a diminutive of Deulecresse, see No. 80.]

1173.—The plate of Lincoln Minster is redeemed from Aaron of Lincoln.

Girald Cambr. *Vita S. Remigii*, ed. Dymock. *Opp.* vii. p. 36.

Godfrey the son [natural] of king Henry II. succeeded him [bishop Chesney † 1166] in the rule of Lincoln Minster, the bishopric having fallen into great financial difficulties for many years previously; he was raised to the bishopric of the same see of Lincoln in which he had been archdeacon. And among his very first acts, he immediately redeemed the ornaments of his church which his predecessor had pledged with Aaron the Jew.

1175.—The Abbot of Peterborough pledges relics with the Jews.

Benedict, ed. Stubbs, i., 106.

The same year before Christmas Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, came to the abbey of Peterborough and deposed William of Walterville, the abbot, because, with violent and armed hand, taking

with him armed soldiers against the wish of his monks, he entered the cloister and the Church and extracted the relics of the saints, together with the arm of St. Oswald, king and martyr, in order to pledge them with Jews for money.

1176.—The first Shetar on record.

Pipe Roll, 9 Ric. I.

Alexander the Abbot and the Convent of Melsa [Meaux] owe one mark that it may be inscribed on the Great Roll that it has been put on record by the Baron that they have produced a charter of Aaron the Jew of quittance of the debt of William Fossard which charter was released to the said William in presence of the Barons. And these are the words of the charter:

"Know all men reading and hearing these letters that I, Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, by the attestation of this my charter have cried quits to William Fossard of all the debts which he or his father owed unto me; and I testify that he is quit of the debt which he owed either to me or to Josce of York or to the remaining Jews mentioned, viz. Kersun, Elyas, Sanson, Ysaac Jew of Pulcella, or Pulcella herself, or Deulecresse of "Denmark," up to the feast of St. Michael in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, MCLXXVI. This quit claim I have made him for MCCLX marks from which the monks of Melsa have acquitted him towards me. And it is to be known that I have handed over to him certain charters of this debt and if I have any others still in my possession I will hand them over as soon as possible."

And that according to this record it was decided by the said Barons that nothing should be demanded from the said Abbot and Monks of the debt which is demanded from the aforesaid William out of the debts of Aaron, viz. £510 13s. od. 9 Ric. I., 4b Everw. (Madox, i. 238).

[This contains the earliest dated *Shetar* or receipt, which were afterwards so numerous that a separate chamber of the Exchequer was put aside for their safe deposit and called the Star Chamber. The full transaction is referred to later *sub anno* 1180.]

1173-80.—How the Abbey of St. Edmund's became in debt to the Jews.

Joc. de Brakelond, pp. 1, 2, 4.

But things outside were badly handled, since each one, serving under a master simple-minded and now growing old, did as it liked, not as it beseemed him. The homesteads and all the hundreds of the abbot were given out to farm; the woods were cut down, the manor houses went to ruin; all things got into a worse condition from day to day. There was only one solace and remedy for the abbot—to borrow money, so that at least he might keep up the honour of his house. Not an Easter or Michaelmas term for eight years before his death but a hundred or two hundred pounds were added to the debt. The deeds were always being renewed, and the usury that accrued was changed into a capital charge. This complaint spread from the head to the limbs, from the prelate to his subjects. Hence it came to pass that each obedientiary had his own seal and got into debt with Christians as well as Jews at his own

pleasure. The silk cups and gold goblets and other ornaments of the Church used often to be pledged without the knowledge of the convent.* I have seen a deed made to William fitz Isabel, of one thousand pounds and forty,† and I know neither the cause nor origin thereof. I saw too another deed made out to Isaac, son of Rabe Joce,‡ of four hundred pounds, but I know not why. I saw also a third deed made out to Benedict, Jew of Norwich,‖ of eight hundred pounds and eighty, and this was the origin and cause of that debt. Our hall was destroyed and William the sacristan had it to restore, willy-nilly, and he secretly borrowed on usury forty marks from Benedict the Jew, and made over to him a deed signed with a seal that used to hang by the window of St. Edmund, and by it gilds and fraternities used to be sealed, but afterwards, though too late, it was broken up to the joy of the whole convent. But when the debt had come to one hundred pounds the Jew came bearing the letters of our lord the king about the sacristan's debt, and then at last was made clear what had escaped the abbot and the convent. But the abbot in wrath wished to depose the sacristan, producing the privilege of our lord the pope, that he could depose William his sacristan whenever he would. But a certain one came to the abbot and, speaking for the sacristan, so got round the

* See *Pipe Roll*, entries Nos. 17 and 57.

† A Christian is thus the highest creditor.

‡ See *Pipe Roll*, entries Nos. 3, 12, 22, &c.

‖ See *Pipe Roll*, entries Nos. 17, 29, 44.

abbot that he allowed a deed to be made out to Benedict the Jew for four hundred pounds to be paid at the end of four years, *i.e.*, for a hundred pounds, which had now grown by usury, and another hundred, with which the Jew accommodated the sacristan for the needs of the abbot. And the sacristan undertook to return the whole of that debt in full chapter, and a deed was made, signed with the seal of the convent, the abbot pretending and not affixing his seal, as if that seal did not apply to him. But at the end of four years there were no means of paying that debt, and a new deed was made of eight hundred pounds payable at fixed dates, four score pounds per annum. And the same Jew had also several other deeds for smaller debts, and another deed fourteen years old, so that the sum owed to that Jew was twelve hundred pounds besides the usury that had accrued.*

In those days the cellarer, like the rest of the officials, borrowed money from Jurnet, the Jew [of Norwich],† without permission of the convent, on a deed signed with the seal aforementioned. But when that debt had grown to sixty pounds the convent was summoned to pay the debt of the cellarer. The cellarer was deposed although he softened the charge by saying that for three years he had received all the guests in the guests' house at the command of the abbot, whether he were present or not, though that abbot should have received them according to the

* The whole revenue of the Abbey was £325 12s. 4d.

† See *Pipe Roll*, entries Nos. 22, 29, 55, 67, 87, &c.

custom of his office. Master Dionisius took his place, who, by his prudence and caution, reduced the debt of sixty pounds to thirty. Out of this debt we handed over thirty marks, which Benedict de Blakeham gave to the convent for the manors of Neutone and Wapstede. But the deed of the Jew has remained in his hands up to this day, and in it are twenty-six pounds of the capital and debt of the cellarer.

1177.—Sepulchres granted to the Jewries.

Howden, ii., 137. Benedict, i., 182.

The same year [1177] the lord the king gave a licence to the Jews of his land to have a cemetery in any city of England beyond the walls of the cities, where they might buy a place for burying their dead reasonably and in a suitable spot: for previously all dead Jews used to be carried to London to be buried.

[An instance of this occurs *infra*. The importance of this lay in the fact that sepulchres must be in absolute possession of the Jews.]

1179.—The provisions of the Lateran Council about the Jews.

Benedict the Abbot, ed. Stubbs, i. 230.

Let not Jews or Saracens be allowed to have Christian servants in their houses, even for the purpose of tending their children, or for service or for any cause. But let them be excommunicated who presume to lodge with them. We are also of opinion that the testimony of Christians against Jews is to be

preferred in all causes where they use their own witnesses against Christians. And we decree that those are to be anathematised whosoever prefer Jews to Christians in this regard, for they ought to be under Christians, and should only be supported by them for humanity's sake. But if any, under God's inspiration, turn to the Christian faith, they should by no means be excluded from their possessions, since those who are converted to the faith ought to be in a better condition than before they adopted the faith.

[When a Jew became a convert and ceased to be a dealer in money, the king lost considerably by the change and claimed to be compensated by the possession of the convert's money. By a later arrangement the king only claimed a half.]

1179.—How to treat Christian usurers.

Howden, ii., 182. Benedict, i., 232.

Since in almost all places the crime of usury waxes so that many, leaving business, exercise usury as if 'twas lawful, and do not observe how it is condemned by the pages of both Testaments, therefore we decree that manifest usurers shall not be received at the communion of the altar, nor receive Christian burial, if they die in this sin, and no offering of theirs shall be received. And he that receives them or gives them Christian burial, shall both return what he has taken from them, and shall remain suspended from his office till he has made satisfaction in the opinion of his bishop.

[The state followed suit by confiscating the chattels of Christian usurers or usuresses after their death if they had not made

restitution, cf. *supra*, p. 51. So far State and Church were impartial between Jew and Christian, the one in making the chattels of a usurer belong to the king after his death, the other in making the usurers' calling disreputable.]

1177-9.—Jews are sent across the Straits.

**Pipe Rolls*, 23-5, Hen. II.

28.—Cresselin, Jew of Winchester, renders count of 100 marks for an amerciament. Cr. by king's writ to Cresselin himself of 100 marks for 100 bezants which he had paid to the king himself. 23 Hen. II. Sudhantesc.

[The king had "let him off" considerably, as a bezant was only 2s., a mark 13s. 4d. Cf. Nos. 27, 39, 69.]

29.—Jurnet, Jew, renders count of 2000 marks in which he was fined by the king at Winchester on his crossing the straits. Benedict, the Jew, renders count of £500 of the fine which he made to the king on his crossing for an amerciament. Josce Quatrebuches renders count of £200 for the same. Brun, the Jew, renders account of 3000 marks for the same. 23 Hen. II. 11b. (M. i. 266.)

[Josce Quatrebuches pays next year. Jurnet owes £226 12s. 3d. then and £26 later. Benedict only owes £4. 25 Hen. II. Brun still owes £400 of this, 27 Hen. II. *rot. ult.* and £20 of that 29 Hen. II. 13. Qy. was this another occasion when Henry took the richest Jews over to Normandy till a certain tallage was paid ? *Cf.* p. 47.]

30.—The Sheriff renders count of the ferm of Devonshire, he pays [the *cash* balance of] 7 marks to Benedict son of Sara and Moyses and Deodatus the Bishop and Vives, Jews. 23 Hen. II., Devonessec.

[The same firm receive similar cash balances this year from

the Sheriffs of Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Oxfordshire, and the honours of Boseham and Conan and the Jews of London, amounting in all to £1003 5s. 1d., practically all the spare cash owed to the king. Jose of York renders in similar way 26 marks from Oxford, and another firm consisting of Brun, Josce Quatrebuches, Jornet, and Benedict Jornet's brother (see No. 29) receive £100 from Southampton. The same applies to the two following years. The King doubtless found it more convenient to have a banking account with the Jews on which he could draw instead of draining the counties of ready-money, while the Jews could make arrangements for local Jews to receive the Sheriffs' balances and lay out the money in loans to the neighbourhood. At least this is how I interpret these items, as well as Nos. 11, 12, 24.]

31.—And [Cr.] by payments by writ of Richard de Luci to Deodatus Bishop of the Jews and Benedict son of Sara and Mosse his brother and Vivo, Jews, £84 12s. 24 Hen. II. 9b. Lond. and Midd. (M. ii. 206.)

[Deodatus=Elchanan,* "Bishop of the Jews," *i.e.*, one of the *Dayanim* or ecclesiastical assessors who adjudicate on ritual and other questions among Jews even to the present day in all Jewish communities.]

32.—Mosse the Jew owes 5 marks for right to 11 marks and 4 shillings against Henry de Minar and to 10 marks against Hugh de Bellocampo. 25 Hen. II. Hereford.

33.—Benedict brother of Aaron and Benedict son of Isaach and Benedict son of Jacob render count of £6 for one mark of gold to be quits of the pledges of Isaac son of Comitissa. 25 Hen. II. City of Lincoln.

* Probably Elchanan ben Isaac, a direct descendant of the great Rashi (R. Solomon b. Isaac). Elchanan died in 1184.

[This Isaac is probably the very son of Comitissa of Cambridge for whose marriage a fine was paid 15 Hen. II. (see No. 15). He was himself the father of R. Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah (=Comitissa), the author of the Hebrew "Onyx Book," the most important literary production of the early Jews of England. Moses would thus be born about 1170, and would have met Isaac of Tchernigoff (see No. 41) when he was about 12-15 years old. Moses died somewhere before 1215. Stow gives the inscription on his tombstone. (*Survey of London*, ed. Thoms, p. 15.]

1179.—Early I.O.U.'s.

* *Record Office, Misc. Q.R.* 556. 1.

I.

Know all men present and future that I, Robert, parson of Bisebrok [co. Rutland] owe Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, 25 soams of hay, Stamford measure, and I have agreed that every two loads shall make one great bundle, Lincoln measure, and all this corn I will render to him within fifteen days of his summons and I make an affidavit to keep this, and I, Richard of Bisebrok, am surety for all the aforesaid corn and owe the said Aaron of my own part 40 soams of hay of the same measure to be tendered similarly within fifteen days of his summons and this I have made an affidavit to render.

II.

Know, &c., I, Richard of Bisebrok, owe Aaron the Jew of Lincoln ten pounds sterling which I received from him at the octave of St. Michael next after the death of Richard de Luci [*ob.* 1179] and for each pound I will give him every week two pence for

interest as long as I keep the debt by his favour, and for the whole debt aforesaid, viz. capital and interest, I have pledged to him all my land of Bisebrok till he has the debt aforesaid, viz. capital and interest, and if I cannot warrant this land to him I will give him equivalent of its value at his pleasure and this I make affidavit to keep and I, Robert, parson of Bisebrok, am surety for the whole debt aforesaid, viz. capital and interest, for satisfying the said Aaron within 15 days of his summons unless the aforesaid Richard has done it and this is my affidavit.

III.

Know, &c. I, Herbert, parson of Wissinden, owe Aaron Jew of Lincoln 120 marks to be returned at the second feast of St. Michael after the death of Richard de Luci [*ob.* 1179] in six years, viz.: each year 20 marks at two terms of the year, at Rogations 10 marks and at the chains of St. Peter 10 marks, and so on, from year to year, till the whole debt is paid. The first term for receipt is at the second Rogations after the death of Richard de Luci. And if by chance any one of those terms shall pass, I will give him every week twopence interest for every pound, so long as I shall hold the debt by his grace, and I make my affidavit, and have confirmed it with my seal.

[These three promissory notes are the earliest in existence and are each interesting in a different way. The first shows that the Jews were large corn merchants as well as money lenders. The second is interesting from its connection with an entry on the Pipe Rolls, Nos. 15, 164, fifteen years later. The last is a form which was, by a legal fiction, supposed to avoid usury since interest was only paid if there was a *delay* in payment. The usury of the Cahorsins was conducted on those lines.]

c. 1180.—From "The Laws of Edward the Confessor."

XXV. Of the Jews.

Howden, ed. Stubbs. ii, 237.

It should be known that all Jews, wheresoever in the realm they be, ought to be under the guard and protection of the king's liege. Nor ought any of them place himself under any rich man without the king's licence; because the Jews themselves and all theirs belong to the king. And if any detain them or their money, let the king, if he will and can, ask it back as if it were his own.

XXXVIII. Of Usurers.

King Edward likewise forbade usurers to remain in the kingdom, and if any was convicted thereof that he had taken interest, he should be deprived of his property and declared outlaw. But this the king himself stated that when he was in the Court of the French king he had heard that usury is the root of all vices.

[These sections of the so-called "Laws of Edward the Confessor" are recognised to be later interpolations, probably of the time of Hen. II. See Webb, *The Question, &c.*, p. 30 seq. and *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, i., 287.]

c. 1180.—The Punishment of a Jewish Scoffer.

Acta Sanct. Oct. xix, t. lvi, f. 576.

Nor should we pass over in silence the revenge which the Lord took on a certain man of the Jewish depravity in this city of Oxford. A certain Jew, *the Lord increase him*, [Deus-eum-Crescat=Deulecresse=*Heb.* Gedalyah] by name (for the Jews use prayers in

this way instead of proper names), the son of Moses of Wallingford, a man less detestable than the rest of the Jews, influenced by a most infamous feeling, insulted the devotions of the Christian folk and derided the divine miracles with blaspheming words. For he derisively drew up his hands and stretched them out, and likewise halted on his feet, and then walked upright, and so he boasted that he could do miracles as well as our Frideswide, and that gifts should be given and offerings made to him as well as to her. Whereupon it happened that faithful folk cursed him on the left side, which really happened afterwards. At last, as he was sitting down at his father's table and redoubling his blasphemies, he was gravely rebuked by his father, but would not desist from his design, declaring that Frideswide could do nothing and that he had no fear of her miracles. At length, in great indignation, his father cursed him: at his voice the blasphemer was silent for a little, and a little afterwards falling into a decline, seemed in great terror. . . Being invited to supper by his father he refused, being tired of life and desiring to hasten his own death. When, therefore, on the succeeding night the quiet of the night was replacing the labours of the day, in silence the wretch rose from his bed and enters his father's kitchen, and lest his gloomy intention might be frustrated he closed the door with wax (?) from the inside. His belt served as a rope, and joining together his neck and the beam, like traitor Judas, in like manner put an end to his life. [His father finds him in the morning

and begs his fellow Jews to keep the matter secret, but it is known throughout the town.] But when, as is customary, the detestable body was being carried off on a cart to be buried in London,* a number of dogs followed the cart with their barks, as is the way of dogs, giving suitable obsequies to the blasphemer.

c. 1180.—How the Jews' Debts get into the hands of the King.

Chron. de Melsa, i. 173, *seq.*

In the meantime William Fossard, junior, confirmed the donation of William Fossard, his father, of 2 carucates of land in Wharrom and of his own gift granted us 2 bovates of land there. And because he himself owed more than 1800 marks to the Jews and had pledged certain lands to the Jews themselves, the sum of the debt daily increased so that all he had was in danger of future loss. William therefore asked Philip our Abbot to take upon himself the payment of his debt, taking a portion of his lands. At which the abbot, at first disturbed not slightly, was as it were astonished and stupified both because he was poor and there was an immense debt, and also because he knew for certain that it was not safe to have anything to do with Jews, as also he afterwards found out and experienced. Nevertheless, Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, who seemed to be the first and greatest of the Jews themselves and had drawn to himself the whole debt of William, promised to forego more than 500 marks if our abbot would

* See *supra* p. 62.

promise to satisfy him of the rest, and William himself promised that he would give for that reason, viz. "that it would get the abbey into the king's power" four and a half carucates of land in Wharrom. Also he granted to our monastery the vills of Bainton and Nessenwick which were pledged to the Jews for certain periods till we should receive the money for payment. At the instance therefore of the brothers, the abbot though unwillingly undertook the payment of the aforesaid debt, viz., of 1260 marks: so that he was bound to pay every year till the debt was fully paid 60 marks from our monastery to Aaron the Jew before mentioned. . . . . In the meantime Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, of whom we have just spoken, died, and we were forced by royal edict to pay to our lord the king all that we owed on behalf of William Fossard within a short time. And when this was done there were found besides certain charters among the treasure-chests of Aaron, by which the king demanded more than 500 marks from William Fossard. Thereupon William Fossard himself urged that we were bound to pay all his debts to Aaron the Jew. But we on the other hand declared that we had already paid all the debts for which we were bound on his behalf. At length however after much trouble and expense the charter of Aaron giving quittance for the whole sum was sought and found. And this being read before the barons of the exchequer at London was transcribed on a roll though not upon the Great Roll, though afterwards Alexander the fourth abbot caused it to be transcribed on the Great Roll* and in

* See entry from *Pipe Roll*, No. 149.

accordance with this quittance it was decided by the said barons that nothing should be exacted of the debt which was demanded from the said William Fossard for the debt to Aaron.

1180-2.—Jewish contributions to the Treasury.

* *Pipe Rolls*, 26-8, Hen. II.

34.—Benedict the Jew owes three marks to have respite in the plea between him and Moyses the Jew. 26 Hen. I., Boseham

[Disputes between Jews were generally settled before their own *Beth-Din*; there was a threat of excommunication against those who applied to the Gentile courts.]

35.—Abraham, Jew of Coventry, owes one mark to be quits of the appeal of Beleasez [Jewess of Oxford, see No. 38.] 26 Hen. II., Lond.

[This debt has to be seen to by the Sheriff of Warwickshire. 28 Hen. II. Abraham had returned from London to his native place].

36.—Nicholas the convert owes half a mark for a default. 26 Hen. II., Chent.

[Conversions of Jews began early; we find references to them *temp.* Will. Rufus., and there is an interesting letter of Anselm about one, *supra* pp. 8 and 12.]

37.—Jeremias the Jew renders count of one mark for Isabella the convert whom he personated. Quits. 26 Hen. II. Bucks.

[Converts lost all their property which escheated to the king on conversion. Jeremiah had probably attempted to save something in the case of Isabella.]

38.—Beleasez, Jewess of Oxford (renders count) owes £100 for having respite in the plea between her and the clerk of the Court of Ferrars. 26 Hen. II. Oxinef.

38.—From the pleas of the Court. Samuel the Jew owes five marks of gold as an amerciament for a bill of divorce. 26 Hen. II., 6b Norhant. (M. i. 227).

39.—Cresselin Jew owes three marks silver to have licence for a concord with Jornet, his sister's husband. 27 Hen. II., Sudhants.

[The king claimed to be compensated for debts to firms which would not escheat to him on the death of a member of it as would be the case with debts to individuals.]

40.—Piers [?] Dulesalt, Jew of Exeter, renders count of 10 marks that the king might take charge of his boys. 27 Hen. II., Devenesc.

41.—Ysaac of Rochester, and Ysáác of Russia, and Ysaac of Beverley, Jews, render count of 10 marks to be quit of a charge that they were said to have exchanged (*cambivisse*). 27 Hen. II., Sudhantesc.

[This Isaac of Russia, possibly the first Russian in historic times who put foot on English soil, is referred to by R. Moses ben Isaac in his "Onyx Book" in the following way:—"*R. Iza of Tchernigoff told me that in the tongue of Tiraz*, i.e. *Russia, they call a brother-in-law* Beleia." *Cf.* Harkavy, *Die Juden und die slavischen Sprachen* (Heb.), p. 62.]

42.—Brun the Jew owes £400 of the fine he made with the king at his transfretation. But they ought to be required from Aaron of Lincoln and Ysáác and Abraham, son of Rabbi, and Ysáác of Colchester, his sureties, who have acknowledged that they received those £400 from his chattels in old money and paid it to the servants of the king in presence of Wm. Rufus. Brun owes £40 for the deficiency of the aforesaid £400. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd.

[See No. 29. The old money was depreciated 10 per cent. and Brun still owes the amount of the depreciation. He never pays it.]

43.—Benedict, son of Josce Quatrebuches, owes 40 marks that the king may hear his plea against Abraham Jew of London, and if it does not concern him that nothing more may apply to him. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd.

44.—Benedict the Jew of Norwich owes 500 marks because he was present at a concord made touching the king's peace and of these 300 are that he might have peace for his chattels that he sold to Aaron and Abraham and Isaac of Colchester and to Joce of York. 28 Hen. II., Nordf.

[He still owes £40 13s. 4d. in 31 Hen. II. On the Colchester Jews mentioned here see the chapter in the Jewry in Cutts' *Colchester* ("Historic Towns"), contributed by the present writer. Joce was the head of the York community and began the celebrated massacre in 1190.]

45.—Hakelin son of Josce Quatrebuches £28 15s. 8d. that he may be quits for the soldier whom he struck. 28 Hen. II., Lond and Midd.

[Qy. was Adam de Colebrooke the soldier, see following No.]

46.—Josce Quatrebuches owes 40 marks that his son Hakelin might be dealt with according to justice in the plea between him and Adam de Colebrooke. 28 Hen. II.

[See preceding number. Is this a case of two birds with one stone ?]

47.—Abraham, Jew, son of Rabbi, owes 40 marks and four horns of which the fourth shall be worth more than the three. 28 Hen. II., Lond.

[I quote this for its quaintness. Might the horns be the sacred ones used by the Jews on their New Year's Day ?]

1181.—Assize of Arms.

Howden, ii., 261.

V. Also no Jew shall keep with him mail or hauberk, but let him sell or give them away, or in some other way remove them from him so that they may remain in the service of the king of England.

[Jews did not serve in the army; while therefore any arms remained in their possession they were withdrawn from use in the royal service. This seems to me the interpretation of this enactment which left Jews entirely unprotected.]

1181.—St. Robert, Boy and Martyr.

Joc. de Brakelond, *Chron.*, p. 12.

At the same time was the holy boy Robert martyred and buried in our church, and there happened many prodigies and signs among the people as we have elsewhere written.

[It is a pity that Jocelin's account of the martyrdom and miracles of the Edmondsbury martyr have not come down to us. His naive and vivid style would have probably let us into the secret of these boy-martyrdoms and would certainly have thrown light on the social relations of Jew and Christian at Edmondsbury. No details are known from any other source of the alleged martyrdom. John of Taxter adds the date "The boy Robert at St. Edmund is martyred by the Jews on the 10th of June" (Notes to Brakelond, p. 114). It should be remembered that Abbot Samson was an enemy of the Jews, and that Brakelond was a devoted admirer of Samson].

July, 1182. Jews expelled from France.

Ricord *ap.* Duchesne t.v.p.9.

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation, MCLXXXII. in the month of April, which by the Jews is called Nisan, there issued a decree from the most serene King Philip August that all the Jews of his nation

should prepare to be expelled by the next feast of St. John the Baptist. [They might sell their personalty but their real property fell into the King's hands. They try in vain to avert the evil decree.] Accordingly the Jews selling their property and taking the money on their journey went forth with wives and children and all their company in the month of July called Tammuz by the Jews themselves. Thus were ejected the infidel Jews and they spread through the whole world.

[We immediately afterwards find some of them in England, *e.g.*, Solomon of Paris, Jacob of Paris. I have conjectured that R. Jehuda of Paris, known as Sir Leon, came over to London at this period and marrying the daughter of Abraham fil Rabbi [Joce] was known as Leo Blund.]

1182.—A Receipt—Latin and Hebrew.

Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 287. *Cat.* 183.

Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, and Benedict Bressus, son of Pucella, to all who see this deed, greeting. Know that the men of Barton [-upon-Humber, co, Linc.] have delivered to us £10 sterling at Michaelmas just after the death of Roger [de Pont l'Evêque], Archbishop of York, [*ob.* 26 Nov. A.D. 1181] And hence we have given them this our deed in testimony. And afterwards they gave us ten shillings sterling in the same term.

Endorsed in Hebrew.

My signature testifies that I have received £10 10*s. out of the Barton claim at Eckel* [Michaelmas] 143 [= 4943 A.M. = 1182-3 A.D.]

And I, the undersigned, have received one half for the

1182. — The Jews favour William, the Sacristan of St. Edmund's Abbey, and what followed.

Joce de Brakelond, pp. 8, 22.

But William, the Sacristan, had a suspicion of his associate, Samson, and so had many others who favoured the side of the said William, both Christians and Jews. Jews, I say, for to them the Sacristan was said to be a father and a patron. They used to enjoy his protection, and had free entrance and exit, and often went through the monastery, wandering through the altars and around the shrine while the solemnities of the Mass were being celebrated. And their moneys were placed in our treasury in the charge of the sacristan, and, what was more absurd, their wives and little ones were received in our refectory in time of war.

[Samson however is elected and begins his reforms.]

Lastly, he deposed William himself: whereat certain who favoured William said, "There's an abbot for you! This is the wolf of which he dreamt. See how he rages!" and some wished to make a conspiracy against him. And when this was made known to the abbot, wishing not to be altogether silent nor to disturb the convent, he entered the chapter on the morrow, bringing out a little bag full of concealed deeds with the seals still hanging to them, viz., those of his predecessor and of the prior, the sacristan, the chamberlain and other officials. The sum total of these was £3,025 and one mark of pure gold, apart from the usury which had accrued, the amount of which could never be known. For all

these he had made terms within a year of his election and within twelve he had cleared them off. "Behold," said he, "the wisdom of our sacristan William. See how many deeds signed with his seal; together with them he has pledged the silk caps, dalmatics, silver candlesticks and golden texts, without the knowledge of the convent, and all these I have released and consigned again to you."

. . . . . .

Whenever the abbot went at that time both Jews and Christians used to meet him demanding their debts, disturbing and vexing him so that he could not sleep, and was made pale and lean, saying "My heart will never be at rest till I shall know the end of my debt."*

[The part taken by the Jews in the election had doubtless something to do with the act of Samson in getting rid of the Jews from Bury St. Edmund's, ten years later.

Bef. 1183.—The Boasting of Aaron of Lincoln.

Gesta St. Albani, edit. Riley, 193.

Abbot Simon dying left his Abbey in debt for more than 600 marks to the Jews besides other debts† which exceeded the sum of 200 marks and more. Whereupon Aaron the Jew who held us in his debt coming to the House of St. Alban in great pride and boasting, with threats kept on boasting that it was he who had made the window for our St. Alban, and

* See *supra* p. 59 for the way in which the monastery got into debt to the Jews.

† To Christians and therefore not bearing interest.

that he had prepared for the saint a home when without one.

[This is the passage so much insisted upon by Prof. Freeman to prove the arrogance of the Jews.]

Nov. 11, 1183.—Deed of Mortgage.

J. H. Round. *Ancient Deeds* (P.R.S.), 82.

Deed of William de Tottenham by which he acknowledges that he owes 100 marks of silver to Aviguia, the Jewess, of London, and Abraham, her son, at Martinmas (11 Nov.), 1183, for which he undertakes to pay £9 per annum. As security for this debt he has mortgaged to them his manor of Tottenham (co. Middlesex). If at Christmas following (1183) he pays them forty marks the remainder of the debt is to be reckoned at only forty marks, on which he is to pay them 10 marks per annum. If he falls in arrears with his interest such arrears are to bear interest of twopence per week in every pound. If he fails to pay altogether, the Jews are to have the power of alienating the manor to whom they will. And, if he fails to pay the forty marks at Christmas, the amount of his debt is to remain a hundred marks.

Endorsed in Hebrew.

Guillaume de Tottenham 100 *marks at Martin,* 4944 [1183], *at nine pounds every year.*

[This deed is of a type not unfamiliar in modern usurious transactions. What was lent seems to have been 80 marks, for by paying off 40 the debt is reduced to forty. But the deed is drawn out as if the debt were 100 marks. Otherwise the interest, only 13½ per cent., would be the lowest on record: even as it is, £9 on 80 marks, or £53 6s. 8d., is only 17 per cent., which was however to be raised to 25 as soon as 40 marks were paid. This comparatively low rate was doubtless due to the good security William had to offer.]

Bef. 1184.—Deodatus writes an astronomical work.

Minhat Jehuda (Heb.) on Gen. xxi. 2.

R. Elchanan son of R. Isaac son of R. Samuel in the book Sod ha-Ibbur (The Secret of the Calendar) *which he has written, explains that with regard to many things the year is called* shanah (repetition) *because it repeats cold and heat, summer and winter* (Gen. viii. 22), *and also the time of sunrise which comes round, for in the spring equinox, the sun rises in the morning at the beginning of the east and goes round the four quarters, East, North, South, and West, &c.*

[The passage is corrupt and of little interest beyond the fact that R. Elchanan was the author of an astronomical work. I have identified R. Elchanan with the Deodatus Episcopus Judæorum of the Latin records because of his name and because he married a sister of R. Samuel ben Solomon who is known as "Sir Morel of England." We know also that Elchanan died in 1184, and we do not find any reference to Deodatus after that date but find other London Episcopi in 1186].

Bef. 1184.—Israel as Bride and as Beggar.*

Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, 249.

Erst radiant the Bride adored,
On whom rich wedding gifts are poured;
She weeps, sore wounded, overthrown,
Exiled and outcast, shunned and lone.

Laid all aside her garments fair,
The pledges of a bond divine,
A wandering beggar-woman's wear
Is hers in lieu of raiment fine.

* Kindly translated by Mr. I. Zangwill.

CH*aunted hath been in every land*
The beauty of her crown and zone;
Now doomed, dethroned she maketh moan,
Bemocked—a byword—cursed and banned.

AN *airy, joyous step was hers*
Beneath Thy wing. But now she crawls
Along and mourns her sons and errs
At every step, and, worn out, falls.

AN*d yet to Thee she clingeth tight,*
Vain, vain to her man's mortal might
Which in a breath to naught is hurled,
Thy smile alone makes up her world.

[The acrostic informs us that this poem was written by Elchanan and the style causes it to be placed by Zunz in the twelfth century when the only Elchanan of importance in the Jewish literary world was Elchanan ben Isaac († 1184) whom I have identified with Deodatus the "Bishop" of the Jews. The poem is an average specimen of the hymns of yearning and regret with which the New Hebrew poets enriched the liturgy of the great Day of Atonement.]

1182-5.—The King finds his Jews profitable.

Pipe Rolls, 29-32, Hen. II.

48.—Benedict, Jew of Canterbury, renders count of 20 marks because he had demanded a debt on account of his brother by his charter which had been paid to him. Ysaac the Jew renders count of 20 marks because he denied what he had said before in the King's court. Jacob and Ysáác of Canterbury owe one mark of gold for having the debt which Folquier Folet owed them. 29 Hen. II., Chent.

49.—Debts to the King from beyond the sea by writ of Will Ralphson. Josce, son of Abraham, owes half a mark of gold for right to a debt against Richard de Verdun, another half mark against William de Rouen, and 2½ marks against William de Trouville and Thomas de Briancon. 29 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd.

[The debtors seem to be Normans, and it would appear that the debts were collected in Normandy by the king's officials].

50.—Josce Salvage renders count of 10 marks for a respite of the pleas between the Jews of Lincoln on the surety of Aaron the Jew. 29 Hen. II., Linc.

[And twelve others do the same for several amounts amounting in all to 43 marks.]

51.—Benedict, brother of Aaron, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold to have in peace his mortgage of Barewe. Benedict, son of Ysaac, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold to have his mortgage of Esling. Abraham, son of Aaron, owes £6 for one mark of gold to have his debts. 29 Hen. II., Linc.

52.—Peytevin of Eye owes one mark of gold to have custody of the son of Jacob of Newport, together with his chattels, and to have the debts and mortgages for the purposes of the said Jacob. 29 Hen. II.

53.—Sancto, Jew of Edmundsbury, renders account of 5 marks to be acquitted of taking in pledge vessels appointed for the service of the altar. 29 Hen. II., 2b Nordf. and Suff. (M i. 226).

[*Cf.* No. 18. There is a reference to this in Joce de Brakelond's *Chronica*, p. 2 and note 106].

54.—The same sheriff renders count of 3 marks of

Regina the Jewess for the debt which Walter of Westbury owed her and one mark from the same period for the debt which Ralph de Chinton and William son of Richard owed her. He has paid into the treasury in two tallies and is quits. 29 Hen. II., Oxford (M i. 233).

[*Cf.* Nos. 4-5. Regina probably paid by two tallies carrying indebtedness to her which now passes to the king, thus becoming bills of exchange.]

55.—Maneser Jew of Ipswich owes 4 ounces of gold for having his rights of 20 marks against William of Verdun and Bertram his brother. Duzelina widow of Mosse with the Nose ["Nosey Moses"] owes 5 marks for having the debts of her husband on the surety of Jacob the priest and Sanson his brother.

Abraham of Norwich owes 1 mark for a right to 6 marks with interest against Hugh de Oisi. Solomon of Ipswich owes one mark for certain seven marks which he might claim against Hugh de la Hosi. Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes £270 6s. 8d. of the amerciament which remained of the amerciament of 6000 marks. 29 Hen. II., Nordf. and Sudf.

[*Cf.* No. 67.]

56.—Brun the Jew renders count of £1000 out of the 2000 marks of the fine he made with the King at Waltham and of which Aaron of Lincoln has to answer for 500 marks. 30 Hen. II., Lond.

57.—Samuel the Jew renders count of two marks of gold to have the house which he bought but which Peter Adamson deprived him of. Peter fil Adam renders count of £10 because he bought the house

which Samuel the Jew had bought and this is prohibited. Bonenfant the Jew renders count of 10 marks for having the pledges which he had given for the aforesaid house. 30 Hen. II., Norhantes.

[The three entries tell their own story. Bonenfant, who pays the highest fine, had sold to Peter fil Adam a house really belonging to Samuel (see next No.) The king draws advantage from all three parties].

58.—Samuel, Jew of Northampton, owes one mark for Margaret, Jewess of London, to have licence for an agreement of marriage of his son and Margaret's daughter. 30 Hen. II., Northantesc.

[See preceding No.]

60.—Solomon and Jacob, Jews of Bedford, owe 3 marks for right to six marks and 3 shillings against William Williamson. 31 Hen. II., Beds.

[The King gets a huge proportion of the debt, but in 33 Hen. II., it is added, "but he (William) is dead, and has neither land nor heir," so that neither King nor Jews get anything.]

61.—Josce le Salvage owes 2 marks for right to 7 marks against Ralph of Cornwall of the debt of Nigel de Flobose. 31 Hen. II., Linc.

[Ralph was probably Nigel's security for that sum. Observe the large proportion of the debt gained by the King when it came before the courts of Justice. This entry is followed by several others of Lincoln Jews claiming debts.]

62.—Jacob, sister's son of Aaron, and Benedict his son owe one mark of gold because they kept back the charters of Benedict of the Bail which had been acquitted on the surety of [name illegible]. 31 Hen. II., Linc.

[They pay next year. See next entry.]

63.—Benedict of the Bail owes 4 bezants for him, and for fat Manasser, and Vives son of Deulecresse, and Josce son of Samuel, to have their charters from Benedict son of Jacob, and from Jacob sister's husband of Aaron. 31 Hen. II., Linc.

[See preceding entry Bezants were foreign coin.]

64.—Benedict son of Aaron owes 20 marks for right to £4 8s. 8d. against Meus Jew of Lincoln. 31 Hen. II., Linc.

[Benedict does not seem to gain much by his action having to pay four times as much as the debt.]

65.—Bonfey, Jew of Worcester, owes one mark gold for a respite to the King's court of the amerciament for a novel disseisin. 31 Hen. II., Wiresces.

[One of many proofs that Jews could hold land.]

66.—Copin the Jew of St. Edmunds owes 20 marks to have right to the chattels which Slema his mother committed to Santo the Jew. 31 Hen. II., 3b.

[Jewesses are frequently mentioned as doing business. See Nos. 15, 23, and 54. Santo has appeared before, see No. 53.]

C. 1185.—A witty Jew.

G. Cambrensis. *Itin. Camb.* II. c. xiii. ed. Dimock, vi. 146.

We set forth thence towards Wenloch through a narrow and steep way which they call Bad-place [Malam plateam]. Here it happened in our days that a certain Jew journeying to Shrewsbury with the archdeacon of the same place whose name was Peche* and the deacon whose name was Dayville. When he heard the archdeacon by chance saying that his

* Hardy's *Le Neve*, i., 573.

deaconry began at this place which is called Bad-place and lasted till Bad-pass near Chester, considering and reflecting on the surname of the archdeacon and the name of the dean he made a rather witty and neat remark. "It will be a wonder," said he, "if chance bring me back safe from this country whose archdeacon is Sin [Peche], whose dean is the Devil, which you enter by a Bad-place and go out in a Bad-pass."

[Besides the intrinsic interest of this anecdote it is conclusive evidence that the everyday speech of the English Jews of the time was French, as was the case with the upper classes in general.]

1183-5. Promissory Notes.

* *Record Office, Misc. Q.R*, 556, I. iv.-xi.

Jew Lender.	*Christian Debtor.*	*Amt.*	*Interest*	*Date and Mode of Payment.*
Vives, fil Aaron.	Will Mardest Chamberlain of the King	£22 2 0	1d. per £1 per week.	St. Andrew after death of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury (1183).
Aaron of Lincoln	Prior and canons of Broc.	£13	do.	St. Andrew after Walter de Custance became Bishop of Lincoln.
Aaron of Lincoln	Simon fil Pagani of Rehale.	20s.	do.	15 days before feast of Purification of Virgin Mary.
Aaron	Truue	1 mark, silver.	none.*	Easter after knighting of Godfrey's King's son.

* This may have been a friendly loan of Aaron's to some Christian lady with whom he was acquainted.

Jew Lender.	*Christian Debtor.*	*Amt.*	*Interest*	*Date and Mode of Payment.*
Benedict, fil Isaac de Linc.	Count Alberic of Dammeston.	£115.	1d. per £1 per week if he fails to pay up.	£20 at Xmas, 30 Hen. II., £20 following Easter, £20 following Michaelmas, £20 £20 Xmas, £20 Easter, and final £15 at Michaelmas. 32 Hen. II.
Deulesant of Stanford.	Hugo Cutic of Luffenam.	10 marks silver.	3d. per £1 per week.	Easter, after King comes to pray at Canterbury.
Deulesalt [Isaiah].	Herbert Parson of Wissenden. [*Cf. supra* p. 67]	80 marks silver. 1 mark gold.		In 8 years 11⅓ marks per annum paid twice a year, beginning St. Andrew's, after King received Scotch homage.
Samuel fil, Solomon of London.	Henry Parson of Morcote.	45 marks silver.		In 12½ years 6 marks per annum beginning Michaelmas after Prince John returned from Ireland.

[For the "common form" of these documents see p. 66.]

Earliest List of London Jews, c. 1186.

* *Pipe Roll*, 3, Ric. I.

Arrears [in 1192] of the Jews of London of the Tallage made at Guildford [Dec. 1185].

Abraham fil Rabbi, £1,000	Moss de domo Samsonis
19s. 4d.	Jacob de Paris
Leo Blund,* £20.	Clarice
Sam fil Abraham, £60.	Ysaac medicus
Abraham fil Avigay, £526	Ysaac de Jueignj
13s. 4d.	Biket de domo Ysaac

* Probably Sir Leon of Paris, who married a daughter of R. Abraham ben R. Jose, whom I identify with R. Abraham fil Rabbi [Joce].

Samson fil Brin, £117 2s.
Deulesalt ep's, £93 6s. 8d.
Brun, £1,297 1s. 1d.
Deuicosa uxor Quatre-buches
Floria uxor ep'i
Mosse de Hyspan.
Leui de Devises
Sara uxor Salom d'estam-pes
Josce fil David
Coket
Jacob de Westminstre
Deulebenie de Juueignj
Cok de domo Abraham
Josce de domo Samsonis
Leon de Punteise
Bendit gen. Mag. Mosse*
Josce fil medici
Deudon cum pedibus tortis
Henna Curj
Henna de domo Abra. fil ep'i
Calamod
Potelin et Hakelin fil Benedicti militis
Josce fil Clarice
Jurnet fil ep'i
Hosppetard
Josce Mauritij
Deusaie fil Rana

[This list occurs in the Pipe Roll of 3 Ric. I. and following years as of those who owed the arrears for the Tallage imposed at Guildford. It is not complete, as some had paid a composition, *e.g.*, Isaac fil Rabbi and Avigay, and others had died in the interim, while in similar lists in the thirteenth century there is always a rubric for those who could not afford to pay anything. Notice Jews from Spain, Morocco, and France; also the three "Bishops," the doctor and the soldier.]

* This Magister Mosse was probably the father of Magister Elias, fil Mag. Mosse, the most important English Jew of the thirteenth century. From Hebrew sources we know that his name was R. Moses ben Yomtob (Berliner, *Hebr. Poesien des Meir ben Elia aus Norwich*, p. 6a), under which name he is quoted by R. Moses ben Isaac in his *Onyx Book*. "Magister Mosse" seems to have been the author of the Massoretic Notes printed in the Rabbinic Bibles under the name of Moses Nakdan. See *Jew Quart. Rev.*, i. 182.

1186-7.—Jurnet the Jew pays dearly for marrying a Christian heiress.

**Pipe Rolls*, 32-3 Hen. II.

67.—The Jews of England owe 5525 marks and a half for the amerciament of Jurnet of Norwich whose charters they have for acquitting the same. 32 Hen. II., (M i. 227).

[He had been amerced in 6000 marks: he takes up 474½ marks and hands over all his deeds to the commnnity who must therefore have been *incorporated* in some way by this date. He probably left England at this date, and returns 35 Hen. II. See No. 55, *ad fin.* Jurnet was probably deprived of all his possessions for having married a Christian heiress, Miryld, daughter of Humphrey de Havile, who also escheated her lands. See Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iv. 510.]

68.—Benedict, Jew of Rochester, renders count of one mark of gold for having his deeds which the sheriff holds. 32 Hen. II., Chent.

69.—Cresselin the Jew owes one mark for having seisin of the lands of Bosinton and Mapledore Well. 32 Hen. II., Sudhants.

[Continued to 2 Ric. I. when it is added "but he is dead and has no right."]

70.—And to Helyas Ostiar [the Usher] one mark for carrying summons through England about the debts of Aaron and to the same 12d. for wax for sealing the same summons. 33 Hen. II., 3b.

[Aaron's treasures were also seized and were lost on crossing the channel. *Benedict the Abbot*, ed. Stubbs, ii., p. 5. Aaron's debts were so numerous as to require a special branch of the exchequer to look after them. Even after many of the debts had been paid the king held nearly £5000 worth of them 15 years later. Helyas was the regular "sompnour" of the exchequer Madox, 719.]

AARON OF LINCOLN'S HOUSE.

71.—Of the debts of the Jews we take no account for the present because our lord the king has taken a quarter of their chattels. 33 Hen. II., 3b (M i. 222).

[They were therefore valued at £240,000 against £700,000 for the rest of England. See note to No. 82.]

72.—Jacob Aaron's sister's husband renders count of 20 marks for an amerciament for taking off a priest's cap, and for the deed of Gerard de Sailly. 33 Hen. II., Lincoln.

1187.—Aaron's treasures are lost at sea.

Benedict the Abbot, ed. Stubbs, ii. p. 5.

[The King was detained three days at Dover before he could cross to Witsand, 17th Feb.]

But in the meantime a great part of the king's retinue wishing to cross to Normandy were drowned in the sea between Shoreham and Dieppe, with a large part of the treasures of Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, deceased.

[Besides these treasures debts to the amount of nearly £15,000 fell into the king's hands: a special part of the Treasury was even called 'Scaccarium Aaronis.' See Madox, *Hist. Exch* i., 190-1. Aaron must have died before this date, and his house figured opposite from a photograph made for this work is thus the earliest private dwelling house of stone which can be positively dated. The roof, walls, door and windows have been restored; all the rest is the original house, *i.e.* the curious window and part of the external chimney. From the similarity of structure the other "Jew's House" at Lincoln must be of nearly the same date, though it is associated with the name of Belaset, of Wallingford, who was hanged for clipping coin c. 1284 A.D.]

1188.—Barnacle Geese should convince the Jew of the Immaculate Conception.

Gerald Camb. *Top. Hibern*, v. 47.

There are here many birds that are called "Barnacles" [*bernacoe*] which in a wonderful way Nature unnaturally produces; they are like wild geese but smaller. For they are born at first like pieces of gum on logs of timber washed by the waves. Then enclosed in shells of a free form they hang by their beaks as if from the moss clinging to the wood and so at length in process of time obtaining a sure covering of feathers, they either dive off into the waters or fly away into free air. . . I have myself seen many times with my own eyes more than a thousand minute corpuscles of this kind of bird hanging to one log on the shore of the sea, enclosed in shells and already formed. . . . . Wherefore in certain parts of Ireland bishops and religious men in times of fast are used to eat these birds as not flesh nor being born of the flesh. . .

Be wise at length, wretched Jew, be wise even though late. The first generation of man from dust without male or female [Adam] and the second from the male without the female [Eve] thou darest not deny in veneration of thy law. The third alone from male and female, because it is usual, thou approvest and affirmest with thy hard beard. But the fourth, in which alone is salvation, from female without male, that with obstinate malice thou detestest to thy own destruction.

Blush, wretch, blush, and at least turn to nature.

She is an argument for the faith and for our conviction procreates and produces every day animals without either male or female.

[It is not to be wondered at if the Jews remained obdurate to this kind of argument. It seems however that they believed in the existence of these birds, see *supra* p. 54. Gerald of Wales was one of the original conquerors of Ireland and his testimony is another point against Professor M. Müller's derivation of the legend from *Hibernic* geese. Against the Irish origin is the fact that Gervase of Tilbury mentions the myth (*Otia Imp.* iii. 138) and locates the birds on the Kent shore.]

Jews minister to the monks of Canterbury and pay a heavy contribution to the Crusade.

Gervase of Canterbury I., 405, 422.

[A quarrel having arisen between the archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of Canterbury, popular sympathy is on the side of the monks.]

Nor was sympathy lacking among the Jews. For they both sent food and drink to feed the convent, and likewise prayed for the continuance of the convent in their synagogues. The archbishop did not cease to take away nor the Jews to present. The archbishop excommunicated, the Jew prayed. A wonderful contrast indeed! . . . . . In the meantime all England was grievously vexed in giving tenths, so that Christians gave £70,000 and more, and Jews £60,000.*

* See *Pipe Roll* entries 71 and 82. The Jews were taxed at a fourth of their chattels which were therefore valued at £240,000 against £700,000 for the rest of England.

Bef. 1189.—Henry the Second favours the Jews.

William of Newbury, i. 280, ed. Howlett.

He [Henry II.] favoured more than was right a people treacherous and unfriendly to Christians, namely Jewish usurers because of the great advantages which he saw were to be had from their usuries: so much so that they became proud and stiffnecked against Christians and brought many exactions upon them. In fact in demanding money he was a little too immoderate, but the evil increasing beyond bounds at a later time in this regard justified him and proved that he had kept within limits.

1189.—Feet of Fine with Jurnet of Norwich.

* *Brit. Mus. Lansd. MS.*, 950, f. 69.

This is a final agreement made in the court of our lord the king at Oxford in the octave of St. Hilary in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry II. in presence of John Bishop of Norwich, &c., &c. . . . . between William of Curzun and Jornet, Jew of Norwich, of a messuage in the town of Norwich which William claimed against the said Jornet, and thereon there were pleadings between them in the court of the lord the king, viz.: that the said William granted to the said Jornet the messuage aforesaid to be held by him and his heirs by the service of four shillings *per annum* instead of all service, and for this agreement the said Jornet gave the said William five marks of silver.

[This is one of the four earliest fines in existence and shows that Jews till end of Henry II.'s reign obtained land on exactly

the same terms as other tenants. Jurnet had probably just returned to Englamd (*Pipe Roll* entry No. 89) and was making a new home with his Christian wife.]

1188-9.—Jewish Contributions to the Treasury.

Pipe Rolls, 34-6, Hen. II.

73.—Benjamin and Josce and Deulecresse, sons of Benjamin, owe 2 marks of gold for having their reasonable part of the debts and chattels of their father. 34 Hen. II., Oxinef.

75.—The Jews of Exeter render count of one mark gold for a fine for pleas which were between them in common. 34 Hen. II., Devenes.

76.—Mosse fil Benedict owes 15s. for one ounce of gold for his rights to the chattels of his father against Lia Jewess and her sons. But he cannot be found. 34 Hen. II., Glocest.

77.—Jheremias, Jew of Dunstable, renders count of £12 for 2 marks of gold because he could not convict the charter of Leo for falsity. Quits. 34 Hen. II., Devenes.

78.—Josce, son of Morell, owes 46 marks for having right to the debt which Robert de Vallibus owed to his father. 34 Hen. II., Nordf.

79.—Benedict, son of Josce Sorel, owes 2 marks because he did not keep the fine which he made with Brun, the son of Benedict the soldier,* on which Abraham son of Rabbi holds security. Benedict of Rising owes 20 marks for having his reasonable part of his own chattels and debts. 34 Hen. II., Glocestre.

* A Jew: see *supra* p. 89 for two other sons.

80.—Deulecresse, Jew of Finchelesfield, renders count of 20 marks for waste and purprestures [incroachments]. 34 Hen. II., Essex and Hertford.

[Deulecresse=*Deus eum crescat=Heb.* Gedaliah.]

81.—Deulecresse of Rising, son of Benedict, owes 2 marks for having his reasonable part of the lands and chattels of his father-in-law. 34 Hen. II., Nordf. [*Cf.* No. 79.]

82.—Of the aforesaid debts of the Jews we take no account at present because of the Tallage which our lord the king is taking from them. 34 Hen. II., 2a (M i. 222).

[*Cf.* No. 71. It was on this occasion that the Jews of England contributed £60,000 against £70,000 as tenths from the rest of the King's subjects: Gervase of Cant., i. 222, *supra* p. 93. The "aforesaid debts" only refer to some in London.]

82*a*.—And to three converts from Judaism to the Catholic faith, namely to Peter and Nicholas and John, 45s. 7½d. of the alms that were Richard Covchet's. By King's writ. 34 Hen. II. Essex and Herts.

[Quoted by Mr. H. Hall in *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, p. 230. For other early converts see Nos. 36, 37.]

83.—Leo Jew of London owes 4 marks for licence to come to terms with Deulebenie of Chichester. Lond., 35 Hen. II.

[Deu-le-benie=*Heb.* Berachjah, for which Benedictus is also used.]

84.—Deulebenie Jew of Chichester owes 5 marks for licence to come to come to terms with Leo Jew of London. ib. Sudsex.

[Two birds with one stone.]

85.—Samarias the Jew owes 11 marks for having the mortgages and debts of Helyas his son who is dead. 35 Hen. II., Devenes.

[Next year it is added "But he has not yet had either debt or mortgage."]

86.—Lia [Leah] Jewess of Bristol owes 10 besants for having an agreement between her and her children drawn up in presence of the Jews, and 20 marks for having her fair share of the chattels and debts of Benedict her husband. 35 Hen. II.. Glouc.

87.—Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes 1800 marks for having residence in England with the goodwill of the king. (M i. 228.) 35 Hen. II., Nordf. and Sudf.

[He probably returned to England at this time. *Cf.* No. 67.]

88.—Isaac of Hich owes 9 marks for not being prosecuted, but he is not to be found. 35 Hen. II., Essex.

[The entry occurs again 5 Ric. I. where Isaac is still left owing.]

89.—Ysaac son of Rabbi owes £200 that he may be quit of the whole tallage that king Henry [the king's] father made at Guildford on taking up the Cross and of which he should pay £100 on the Sunday when they sing "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," and of the rest £30 per annum till those £100 are quite paid off. 35 Hen. II., Lond.

[There is a subtle touch of irony in the choice of a Sunday on which the Jew has to pay up.]

90.—Abraham son of Rabbi owes 2 ounces of gold that he might be recognised [as owner?] of the land of Malesward which Robert Cusin seeks and that the

summons before the justices errant may come before the Chief Justiciar. 36 Hen. II., Lond.

Bef. 1189.—Biblical Comments of R. Jacob.*

Minhat Jehuda (Heb).

Deut. xxvi. 2.—And thou shalt take of the first of all the fruits of the earth. *Rashi points out the difficulty of bringing first fruits from each of the seven kinds (because they do not ripen together). R. Aaron of Canterbury declares it would be sufficient if the first of the first fruits which appear of the seven are carried to Jerusalem. R. Jacob of Orleans holds another opinion.*

Deut. xxxiii. 12.—And of Benjamin he said . . . . . he shall dwell between their shoulders. *R. Tam of Orleans said that therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, made his glory to rest in the tribe of Benjamin,* i.e., *the Temple, because all the other tribes bowed down to Esau* (Gen. xxxiii. 6) *except Benjamin who was not yet born.*

Ib. 13.—And of Joseph he said: Blessed of the Lord be his land. *R. Tam of Orleans says that therefore Moses blessed the land of Joseph because he did not listen to Potiphar's wife, but Adam having listened to Eve the land was cursed for him.* (Gen. iii., 17).

[R. Jacob of Orleans, also known as R. Tam, was one of those massacred at the coronation of Ric. I. (see *infra* p. 108.) The above will serve as specimens of his exegesis. It will be observed that another English rabbi, R Aaron of Canterbury, is mentioned in the first extract.]

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Sohechter.

Before 1189. Deed of Belaset the Jewess of Oxford.

**Brit. Mus. Harl. Ch.* 84 D. 15.

[Covenant between William FitzGregor and the Abbot and Monastery of Beddlesdon [co. Bucks] by which William assigns to the Abbot the rent of a mill and certain farms belonging to him in his manor of Finmere [co. Oxon.] and pledged by him to Belaset the Jewess for £32 on condition that the Abbot pay £4 annually to Belaset the Jewess for interest on £32 which William owes her. He is to recover possession of the lands [but not of the mill] when he pays Belaset. Witness William Prior of St. Augustine's at Bristol, Geoffrey de Larder, Will de Ghend, and others.]

[Belaset is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls. See entries 35, 38.]

Sept. 3 & 4, 1182.—The Massacre at Richard I.'s Coronation.

William of Newburgh, ed. Howlett, i. p. 294.

Richard, then the only king thus named for a century, was hallowed to king at London and solemnly crowned by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, on Sept. 3; which day is from an ancient pagan superstition called "the bad" or "the Egyptian," as if by some presage of Jewish fatality. For that day is known to have been a fatal one for the Jews and more Egyptian than English, since England where they had been happy and renowned was suddenly by God's judgment changed for them into an Egypt where their fathers suffered hard things. It is a matter indeed of recent record nor unknown

to any present but it is worth while passing on to posterity in a rather lengthy narration the record of so marked a judgment from on high against that infidel and blasphemous people. There had come together for the solemn anointing of the Christian prince from all quarters of England, not alone Christian nobles, but likewise the chiefs of the Jews. For these enemies of truth fearing that the good luck they had under the former king might be less favourable to them under the new, brought first fruits most decorous and honourable, and hoped to find favour equal to the multitude of their gifts. But he, either because he was less favourable to them than his father, or having some premonition, a certain superstitious foreboding about the plans of certain persons, by an edict, it is said, forbade them entry either into the church where he was being crowned* or to the palace where he was banquetting after the coronation. When, then, the solemnities of the mass were concluded, the king, glittering in his diadem, with magnificent pomp entered [the palace] for the banquet. Now it happened that while he was at the repast with all the assembly of the nobles, the people watching round the place began rioting. Some Jews mixed among the crowd by this means entered the royal doors. Whereat a certain Christian† being, it

* Matthew Paris (edit. Wats, 154) says that women and Jews were excluded lest they should exercise a magical influence on the coronation. *Cf.* Ephraim of Bonn's statement, *infra* p. 107.

† Authorities differ as to the originators of the riot. Ralph Disset (ed. Stubbs, ii. 69) attributes it to foreigners ("alienigenis"), the *Gesta Ricardi* (ed. Stubbs, 83), to the courtiers ("curiales"), Roger Howden (iii. 12) to the mob.

is said, indignant, struck a Jew with his palm and so drove him away from the entrance of the door, thus recalling the king's edict. And many being excited by this example drove away the Jews with insults, and a tumult arising a disorderly crowd came up and believing the king had commanded such treatment, as if relying on the authority of the king, rushed together upon the crowd of Jews waiting at the palace gates. And at first indeed they struck them with the fist but afterwards being more savagely enraged they brought sticks and stones. Then the Jews began to flee, some during their flight being beaten unto death or some of them even being crushed, perished. Now there had come thither with the rest two noble Jews of York, viz., Joce and Benedict, of whom the first escaped, but the other was caught as he fled but tardily from the strokes laid upon him: in order to escape death, he was compelled to confess Christ, and being led into the Church was baptised on the spot.* In the meantime a pleasing rumour spread with incredible rapidity through all London, namely that the king had ordered all the Jews to be exterminated. And soon a huge mob of disorderly persons both from the city as well as of those whom the ceremony of the hallowing of the king had attracted from the provinces, run up all armed, and breathing slaughter and spoil against the people by God's judgment hated by all. Then the Jewish citizens, of whom a multitude is known to dwell in London, together with those who had flocked

* See *infra* p. 105.

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together from all parts withdrew into their own houses. These houses were surrounded by the roaring people, and were stoutly besieged from 9 o'clock till sunset, and as they could not be broken into owing to their strong build* and because the madmen had not tools, fire was thrown on the [thatched] roof, and a terrible fire quickly broke out which was fatal to the Jews as they strove [to put it out] and offered the aid of light to the raging Christians at their night work. And the fire kindled against the Jews did not hurt them alone but likewise seized hold of the neighbouring houses of Christians. You might see all of a sudden the best known places of the city wretchedly alight through fires of citizens acting as if they had been enemies. But the Jews were either roasted in their own houses or if they came out of them were received with swords. Much blood was shed in a brief space. But soon the lust after booty burning higher brought on a repletion of slaughter and avarice got the better of cruelty. Thereupon leaving the butchery, their greedy rage betook itself to stripping the houses and snatching their riches. But this in its turn made Christians oppose Christians, for each envied what the other may have seized, and in the eagerness of plunder the rivalry of avarice forgetting all natural ties spared neither friends or comrades.

This was reported to the King as he was joyfully

* The Jews have the credit of being the first to build private houses of stone (Turner, *Domestic Architecture*, 7). *Cf.* the account of the "palaces" of the two chief Jews of York, *infra* p. 117.

banquetting in the palace with all the assembly of his Knights. Ranulf de Glanvile, the King's procurator, a man both prudent and powerful, is sent out by the side gate with others equally noble so that he might either divert or check their boldness. But in vain: amidst such a tumult none of them either listened to his voice or paid honour to his presence, nay some of the more unruly commenced to rave against them and threatened them terribly if they did not withdraw pretty soon. As they accordingly avoided such unbridled rage, the license became as great as boldness [could make it], and the spoilers raged on till the second hour of the following day, and even then it was satiety or weariness rather than reason or respect for the prince that calmed the fury of the robbers. Thus was the first day of the reign of the illustrious King Richard distinguished by an event hitherto unheard of in the royal city, by the beginning of the doom of the infidel race and by a new zeal of Christians against the enemies of the cross of Christ, clearly not so much according to the rule by which they are ordered to turn doubtful matter towards the better rather than towards the worse but even according to the most suitable interpretation of Christian [? religion] as a presage in the days of promotion. For what could it presage more suitably, if it presaged anything at all, that the fate of the blaspheming people ennobled the day and place of the King's consecration, that at the very beginning of his reign the enemies of the Christian faith began to fall and become weakened around him? And let not either

the conflagration of the City in every part or that insolent rage of the disorderly move anyone to deny that it was a good event and a pious augury: since they will be objecting to the rule of the moderation of the Most High since the Omnipotent often fulfils His own goodwill by the will and bad acts of even the wickedest of men.*

The new king, however, being of a great and fierce spirit, was indignant and grieved that such things should have occurred at the ceremony of his coronation, and the beginning of his reign. He was angry, and yet perplexed to know what was to be done in the matter. To pass over such a breach of the royal majesty without any example, and to dismiss it unavenged, seemed unworthy of a king and harmful to the state, since passing over such an atrocity would encourage bold and wicked persons to attempt similar misdeeds in confidence of being able to do so with impunity. But on the other hand to exercise the rigour of the royal displeasure against such a multitude of criminals was plainly impossible. † For except the nobles banquetting with the King, whose number was such that the breadth of the royal palace seemed narrow, hatred of the Jews and the temptation to plunder had attracted to the perpetration of the deed above-mentioned almost the whole body of the citizens, and almost all the families of the nobles who had come up with the nobles themselves to the

* *Cf. infra* p. 122 for the same reasoning.

† Three were hanged for destroying houses of Christians.—Hoveden, iii. 12.

ceremony of the King's coronation. He had, therefore to dissemble where vengeance was impossible, God doubtless arranging that those who had stood forth as the ministers of Divine vengeance against blaspheming infidels should not suffer human justice on that account. For the reason of the heavenly example demanded that those blasphemers who in the time of the preceding reign had been too stiff-necked and haughty towards Christians should be humbled at the beginning of its successor. But the prince guaranteed peace to the Jews by an edict after the slaughter; but as will be narrated in its place, they did not enjoy this long, heaven's judgment demanding that the pride of the blaspheming people should be chastised most severely.

4. Sept. 1189.—Baptism or Death: a Relapse.

Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, iii. 14.

Among these was Benedict, a Jew of York, who when he was so persecuted and wounded by the Christians that he despaired of his life, was baptised by William Prior of the Church of St. Mary of York, in the Church of the Innocents, and was named William, and thus escaped the peril of death and the hands of the persecutors. . . . And the next day the King caused the said William, who from Jew had been made Christian, to be presented to him; and said to him "Who art thou?" and answering he said, "I am Benedict, the Jew, from York." And the King, turning to the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest who had said that the said Benedict had

become a Christian, he said to them "Did ye not tell me he is a Christian?" And they said "Yes, sire." And he said to them "What then shall we do about him?" And the Archbishop of Canterbury answered him in a spirit of fury, less prudently than he ought, "Since he does not wish to be a Christian let him be the Devil's man," for he ought to have replied "We demand Christian judgment on him, since he became a Christian and now denies it." But since there was no one to prevent him the said William returned to the Jewish depravity, and after a short interval of time died at Northampton, and was kept away from the common cemetery of the Jews as well as of the Christians, the former because he had turned Christian, the latter because, like a dog to his vomit, he had returned to the Jewish depravity.

A Poet's account of the London Massacre.

Robert of Gloucester, II. vv. 9904-21.

Earl Richard, King Henry's son, he came unto England,
And after his father's death, he took this realm *in hand*
The fourth day of September, he had himself crowned *free*
At Westminster hastily, as the right crowning must be
By th' Archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin that was then,
On a Sunday as it fell, to Jews great grief *and pain!*
For among all the nobles, that to the feast *there* drew
Earls and Barons and of others high-men enow,
And *midst* noble presents, that thither came also,

The wretched wicked Jews they weened well to do
And a rich present they prepared with great pride
And sent it to the noble king, but small thanks them betide!
For the King was somewhat vexed, and took it for great shame,
That from such unclean things *as them* any meat to him came.
And bade them put it out of court, and to the wretches shame do
There was many a wild serving-man that was ready thereto.
And they went into Jewry and wounded and tore men *too*
And robbed and burnt houses, and many of them slew.

F. Y. P.

1189.—A Jewish Account of the Massacre.

Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn. in *Emek Habacha*, ed. Wiener, Heb. App., p. 9.

In the year [of Creation] 4950 [=Sept. 1189—Sept. 1190] *evil was brought upon Israel from heaven. For there arose a King in the Isle of the Sea known as Angleterre. And it happened on the day of their appointing him King, and when they put the royal crown upon his head in the city of London, in the palace which is without the city, and many folk were gathered there from France and from the isles of the sea, and there came likewise Jewish magistrates, and with them tenths to bring to the King as a tribute, and bad men hastened to say that it was not allowed for Jews to look on the King's crown*

when the monks and priests crowned him, when they crowned the King at Orleans (?) and they thrust them forth and destroyed them, and the King knew not of this, and a rumour went to the city saying "The King has ordered the Jews to be converted," and they went to fall upon them and slay them and their maidservants in their houses, and they slew about thirty men and some of the remainder slew themselves and their children. And then was slain the distinguished Chief Rabbi, Jacob of Orleans, for the hallowing of the Name. And the King knew nothing during all this, for when he heard the noise in the city he asked, "What is this noise of a tumult?" And the doorkeeper replied, "It is nothing but the young men rejoicing and making merry," although the truth was known to him. He ordered them to bind the doorkeeper to the tails of horses, dragging and casting him through the streets and alleys of the city till his spirit departed and he died a miserable death. Blessed be the Lord that giveth vengeance!

16 Nov., 1189.—Charter of Monks of the Cistercian Order to be quit of their debts to Aaron of Lincoln.

Memorials of Fountains Abbey (Surtees Soc.), ii. 18.

Richard, by the Grace of God, &c., to the archbishops, bishops, . . . and all his servants and men, French and English, through all England greeting. Know that we have condoned for the safety of our own soul and for those of all our ancestors and heirs, to the abbeys of the Cistercian order, namely, of Rievalle, New Minster, Kirkested, Parco-Lude, Revesby, Ruford, Kirkestal, Rupe, and Betlesden,

all the debt which they owed us of the debt of Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, the sum of which extended to 6,400 marks and more. And they for this condonation have given us 1,000 marks. Wherefore we wish and firstly order that the said house be altogether quits for ever of the whole debt which was demanded from them. And we have returned them their deeds for that debt. . . . Witnesses Hugo Bishop of Durham, Godfrey Bishop of Winchester, &c. At Westminster, 16th Nov. in the first year of our reign.

[This is the largest amount mentioned as owed to any Jew of the twelfth century. It is probable that it covered the building expenses of all the above-mentioned Abbeys.]

Bef. 1190.—A Penitential Hymn of Yomtob of York.*

Ritual for Eve of Day of Atonement (Heb.), *German Rite.*

By 'tis thus	*Evil us*	*hath in bond;*
By Thy grace	*guilt efface*	*and respond*
		"Forgiven!"
ast scorn o'er	*and abhor*	*th' informer's word*†

* Kindly translated by Mr. I. Zangwill, who has preserved the metre, the rhyme system and the alphabetical acrostic of the original. Mr. Zangwill's *tour de force* will at any rate give the reader an idea of the metrical gymnastics indulged in by the *Paitamni*, sacred Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages. For the attribution of this celebrated poem, still recited in all Synagogues of the German rite on the eve of the great Jewish fast day, the Day of Atonement, *vide* Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 287.—I believe I may claim the credit of having identified the author with the Yomtob of Joigny, who led the Jews at York. See *infra* p. 131.

† *Cf.* the Decree of the Rabbinic Synod, *supra* p. 47.

Dear God, deign this refrain to make heard
" Forgiven ! "

Ear in lieu give him who intercedes ;
Favouring answer, King, when he pleads,
" Forgiven ! "

Grant also the lily* blow in Abram's right
Heal our shame and proclaim from Thine height
" Forgiven ! "

Just forgiving, Mercy living, sin condone
List our cry loud reply from Thy Throne
" Forgiven ! "

My wound heal deep conceal stain and flake,
Now gain praise by Thy phrase " For My sake,
Forgiven ! "

O forgive ! Thy sons live from thee reft,
Praised for grace, Turn Thy face to those left—
" Forgiven ! "

Raise to Thee this my plea, take my pray'r
Sin unmake for Thy sake and declare,
" Forgiven ! "

Tears, regret, witness set in Sin's place
Uplift trust from the dust to Thy face—
" Forgiven ! "

Voice that moans, tears and groans, do not spurn ;
Weigh not flaws, plead my cause, and return,
" Forgiven ! "

Yea, off-rolled, as foretold, clouds impure
Zion's folk, free of yoke, O assure,
" Forgiven ! "

* Israel (Cant. x. 10.)

Day *by day* *stronghold they* *seek in Thee*
Good *One! let* *stronger yet* *Thy word be*
"Forgiven!"

[These two last lines fix the authorship of the poem by Yomtob—*Yom* (day), *Tob* (good). They have hitherto been unpublished, but were obtained from an Oxford MS. by Dr. Neubauer, through the kind intervention of Dr. Hermann Adler.]

Bef. 1190.—A Question of Warmth.

Hag. Mord. Sabb. (Heb.), i., 450.

The question is whether I may warm myself at a fire kindled by a Gentile on Sabbath. The following is the Response of R. Yomtob of blessed memory. 'From my youth I have wondered at those who forbade us to warm ourselves at a fire kindled by a Gentile for a Jew, because I have seen my father and R. Menachem and other men of fame, who were particularly pious, thus warming themselves. The reason seems to me this: as we say elsewhere* [Talmud, Sabbath] *that we reckon circumcision as an illness* [and can therefore do things otherwise forbidden on a Sabbath for a circumcised child] *so every one is considered ill from the effects of cold: though they may not be really ill, yet they suffer from it . . . And if it would not perplex the people I would allow them to order a Gentile to make a fire on Sabbath and* [among other proofs] *as we say of the High Priest that, if he is delicate, they heated his bath* [on the Day of Atonement] *with hot iron* [Talm. Joma 34b], *so every man is delicate as regards cold, and therefore he can*

* A peculiar word, *Perushim*, is here used signifying 'set apart' for the study of the Law, a kind of Jewish monks. Cf. Güdemann, *Unterricht*, i. 360-7.

warm himself. And may my share in the future life be among the just who warm themselves and not among those who separate themselves. And so let those who warm themselves on Sabbath rejoice in much peace."

[The injunction against making a fire on Sabbath (Exod. xxxv. 3) was so rigidly obeyed that many would not warm themselves at a fire made by others. It is, however, customary even at the present day for pious Jews to hire a Gentile to see to their fires on Sabbaths.]

1190.—Slaughter of the Jews at Norwich, Stamford, York, and St. Edmunds.

Ralph de Diceto, ii., 78.

Many of those who were hastening to go to Jerusalem determined first to rise against the Jews before they invaded the Saracens.* Accordingly on February 6th, all the Jews who were found in their own houses at Norwich were butchered; some had taken refuge in the Castle. On March 7th, namely, at the time of the fair at Stamford, many were slain. On March 16th,† at York, it is said that nearly 500 were put to death, attacking one another with mutual wounds, for they preferred to be struck down by their own people rather than to perish at the hands of the uncircumcised. On March 18th, *i.e.*, the feast of Palm-branches, as it is said, fifty-seven were slaughtered at St. Edmunds. Wherever the Jews were found they were massacred by the hands of the Crusaders, unless protected by the town authorities.

* This was clearly the motive with the common people who were not affected by Jewish usury.

† During the Friday night between the 16th and 17th March.

It cannot be believed that so sad and fatal a death of the Jews can have pleased prudent men, since that saying of David often comes to our ears "Do not slay them" (Ps. lix., 11).

[Besides these, riots are mentioned at Lynn, Lincoln, and probably at Colchester, Thetford (P.R. No. 134) and Ospringe (P.R. item No. 115). Winchester seems to have been the only exception: *Cf. infra* p. 134.]

Feb., 1190.—What was done against the insolence of the Jews at Lynn.

William of Newbury,* i., 308, ed. Howlett.

While this was going on in France, the zeal of the Christians against the Jews in England, which had been kindled a little before at London, as has been mentioned, broke out fiercely. It was not indeed sincere, *i.e.*, solely for the sake of the faith, but in rivalry for the luck of others or from envy of their good fortune. Bold and greedy men thought that they were doing an act pleasing to God, while they robbed or destroyed rebels against Christ and carried out the work of their own cupidity with savage joy and without any, or only the slightest, scruple of conscience, God's justice, indeed, by no means approving such deeds but cunningly ordaining that

* I have selected William of Newbury's account of the massacres of Easter, 1190, as being the fullest. He was besides a native of Yorkshire, being born at Newbury about 1136, was a canon of the Augustinian priory of Bridlington, so that he lived all his life near the scene of the chief outbreak and died in 1198, so that his account was at latest written within eight years of the events he describes.

in this way the insolence of that perfidious people might be checked and their blaspheming tongues curbed.

The first outburst against them occurred, we have heard, at Lynn, a city renowned for its thriving commerce, where many of this people dwelt, overbearing by their numbers, the greatness of their wealth and the protection of the King. When a certain one of them was converted from their superstition to the Christian faith, they, thirsting for his blood as that of a deserter and traitor, sought for an opportunity of gratifying their malice, and on a certain day seizing their arms attacked him as he was passing, but he retreated to the nearest church. But the madmen did not desist, but began to besiege the church with perverse fury and attack in order to break the doors and drag the fugitive out to punishment. A huge clamour is raised by those who were in the same church. Christian help was demanded with loud voice. The shouting and the reports inflame the Christian folk; those who were near run up in arms on hearing the shouts, those afar off when they heard the rumours. The inhabitants of the place went to work half-heartedly for fear of the King, but the young foreigners, of whom a great many had come there on business, attacked the insolent assailants more stoutly. They, however, giving up their siege of the church commenced to fly when they could no longer support the attack of the Christians. A few being slain during the flight, their houses were stormed and pillaged by the Christians, and burnt by

the avenging flames and many of them fell victims to the fire or sword of the enemy. On the following day a certain Jew coming up, a distinguished physician, who was friendly with and honoured by the Christians, for the sake both of his art and of his own modesty, commenced to deplore the slaughter of his people rather strongly, and as if prophesying vengeance, aroused the still smouldering rage. The Christians soon seized him and made him the last victim of Jewish insolence. The young foreigners, loaded with booty, sought their ships and quickly went away to avoid inquiry by the King's officers. But the inhabitants of the place when they were interrogated about the matter by the officials, attributed the deed to the foreigners who had already gone away.

7 March, 1190.—What was done against the Jews at Stamford.

Wiliam of Newbury, i. 310, ed. Howlett.

After this a new rising of the mob against the Jews took place at Stamford. When the accustomed fair was being held there at Quadragesima [March 7] a number of youths who had taken the Lord's sign to start for Jerusalem came together from different provinces. They were indignant that the enemies of the cross of Christ who dwelt there should possess so much when they had not enough for the expenses of so great a journey. They considered they ought to extort from them as unjust possessions whatever they could apply to the necessary uses of the pilgrimage they had undertaken. Considering, therefore, that

they could be doing honour to Christ if they attacked his enemies, whose goods they were longing for, they boldly rushed upon them, nobody either of the inhabitants of the place or of those who had come to the fair opposing such daring persons and some even helping them. Some of the Jews were slain, but the rest escaped with some difficulty by retreating to the Castle. Their houses were pillaged and a great quantity of money captured. . . . . One of the plunderers, John by name, a most audacious young man went off to Northampton, deposited a part of his money with someone by whom he was slain from desire of the said money. [His body is said to perform miracles till Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, put a stop to the reverence paid to the false martyr.]

[The Jews remembered gratefully St. Hugh's interference on their behalf. See *infra, sub anno* 1200. for their behaviour at his funeral.]

Bef. 1190.—A Decision of Rabbi Elias, the Martyr of York.

Tos (Heb.) Talm. Joma *27a*, Sebach *14b*.

[*A complicated discussion on Lev.* i., 7, vi. 13.]

[The Rabbi is called 'The Holy Rabbi Eliahu of Aborak,' 'Holy' being the technical designation of a Martyr, and 'Aborak' being, as Dr. Neubauer suggested, the Hebrew transliteration of Everwick (Eboracum), the medieval name of York. R. Eliahu was besides a pupil of 'Sir Morell,' whom we know to have been in England, *cf. supra*, p. 53. This identifies another of the victims of the York massacre.]

March, 1190.—What was done against the Jews of Lincoln and York.

William of Newbury, ed. Howlett, i. 312.

The men of Lincoln, hearing of what was being done to the Jews, seizing the opportunity and encouraged by these examples, thought that something should be attempted, and gathering in a mob broke out into a sudden rising against their Jewish fellow citizens. But they, rendered more cautious by knowing the fate or the terror of their fellows in various places, had betaken themselves betimes with their money to the fortified part of the town. And so nothing much being done, though much investigation was carried on by the royal officials,* that vain rising quickly subsided.

But the men of York were restrained neither by fear of the hot-tempered King nor the vigour of the laws, nor by feelings of humanity, from satiating their fury with the total ruin of their perfidious fellow-citizens and from rooting out the whole race in their city. And as this was a very remarkable occurrence, it ought to be transmitted to posterity at greater length. Of the Jews of York, as we said, the foremost were Benedict and Joce,† men of great riches and great usurers. Now they had built in the middle of the city at very great expense large houses, like royal palaces, and there they dwelt like two princes of their own people and tyrants of the Christians, behaving with almost royal state and pomp and

* See *P. R.*, item No. 117.

† See *supra.*

exercising harsh tyranny against those whom they oppressed with their usuries. And when they were at London at the solemnity of the anointing of the King, Benedict, as we mentioned above, by the judgment of God, met with a most wretched end and might be called Maledict. But Joce,* escaping with difficulty on that occasion, returned to York, and as the King after the London riot issued a decree for the protection of the Jews, he, together with the rest of the Jews throughout England, continued to act confidently according to their old ways. But when the King had established himself across the sea many of the province of York plotted against the Jews, not being able to suffer their opulence when they themselves were in need, and without any scruple of Christian conscience thirsting for the blood of infidels from greed for booty. The leaders of this daring plan were some of the nobles† indebted to the impious usurers in large sums, some of whom having given up their estates to them for the money they had received, were now oppressed by great want, some bound by their own sureties were pressed by the exactions of the Treasury‡ to satisfy the royal usurers; some, too, of those who had taken the cross and were on the point of starting for Jerusalem were more easily induced to defray the expenses of the journey undertaken for the Lord's sake out of the booty taken

* See *P. R.*, Nos. 108, 149.

† Mainly of the Percy and Pudsey families. See *P. R.*, item No. 124 and Note in Appendix.

‡ Debts to Jews who had died were claimed by the King.

from the Lord's enemies, especially as they had little fear of being questioned for the deed when they had started on their journey. One stormy night no small part of the city became on fire either by chance or, as is believed, by arson perpetrated by the conspirators, so that the citizens were occupied with their own houses in fear of the fire spreading. There was nothing, therefore, in the way of the robbers, and an armed band of the conspirators, with great violence and tools prepared for the purpose, burst into the house of the before-mentioned Benedict, who had miserably died at London as was mentioned above. There his widow and children with many others dwelt; all of these who were in it* were slain and the roof put on fire. And while the fire gloomily increased in strength, the robbers seized their booty and left the burning house, and by help of the darkness retired unobserved and heavy laden. The Jews, and especially their leader Joce, in consternation at this misdeed having begged the assistance of the Warden of the royal castle, carried into it huge weights of their monies equal to royal treasures, and took more vigilant guard of the rest at their houses. But after a few days these nocturnal thieves return with greater confidence and boldness and many joined them, they boldly besieged Joce's house which rivalled a noble citadel in the scale and stoutness of its construction.† At length they captured

* His sons escaped. See *P. R.*, No. 121.

† The victors had the same difficulties with the Jews in London. *Cf. supra* p. 102.

and pillaged it, and then set it on fire after having removed by sword or fire all those whom an unlucky chance had kept in it. For Joce a little before had wisely anticipated this mischance and had removed with his wife and children into the Castle, and the rest of the Jews did the same, only a few remaining outside as victims. When the robbers had departed with so great a reward of their daring, a promiscuous mob rushed up at break of day and tore to pieces the furniture which remained from the spoilers and the fire. Then at length those who had personally held the Jews in hatred, no longer having any fear of public rigour, began to rage against them openly and with abundant license. No longer content with their substance, they gave to all found outside the castle the option of sacred baptism or the extreme penalty. Thereupon some were baptised and feignedly joined Christianity to escape death. But those who refused to accept the sacrament of life, even as a matter of pretence, were butchered without mercy. While all this was happening the multitude who had escaped into the castle seemed to be in safety. But the Warden of the castle having gone out on some business, when he wished to return was not re-admitted by the trembling multitude, uncertain in whom to trust and fearing that perchance his fidelity to them was tottering, and that being bribed he was about to give up to their enemies those whom he should protect. But he immediately went to the

sheriff of the county* who happened to be at York with a large body of the county soldiers, and complained to him that the Jews had cheated him out of the castle entrusted to him. The sheriff became indignant and raged against the Jews. The leaders of the conspiracy fanned his fury alleging that the timid precaution of those poor wretches was an insolent seizure of the royal castle and would cause injury to our lord, the King. And when many declared that such traitors were to be got at by some means or another, and the royal castle taken out of their hands, the sheriff ordered the people to be summoned and the castle to be besieged. The irrevocable word went forth, the zeal of the Christian folk was inflamed, immense masses of armed men both from the town and the country were clustered round the citadel.† Then the sheriff struck with regret at his order tried in vain to recall it and wished to prohibit the siege of the castle. But he could by no influence of reason or authority keep back their inflamed minds from carrying out what they had begun. It is true the nobles of the city and the more weighty citizens fearing the danger of a royal movement cautiously declined such a great transgression. But the whole of the workpeople and all the youth of the town and a large number of the country folk, together with soldiers not a few, came with such alacrity and joined in the cruel business as if each man was seeking his

* John Marshall. See *Pipe Roll*, 1, Ric. I., ed. Hunter.

† Probably Clifford's Tower, which was isolated from the rest of the castle.

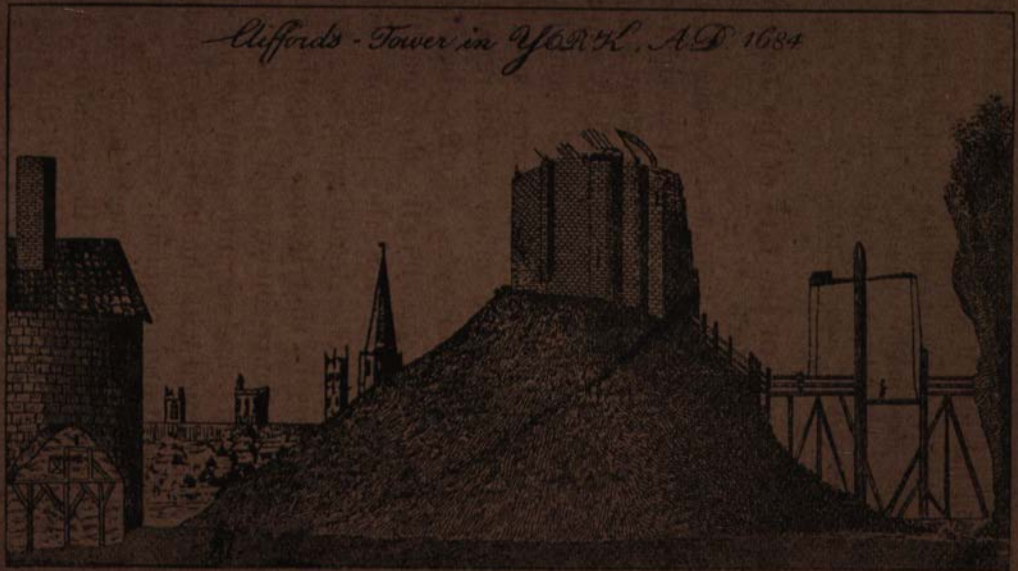
own gain. And there were not lacking many clergymen, among whom a certain hermit* seemed more vehement than the rest.

Equal zeal inflamed all, for they thought they would be doing a great act of devotion to God, while with blinded minds they shut their eyes to that saying of David, nay, of the Lord, which is said as if it were in the person of the Saviour, "God shows to me above my enemies; do not slay them, never forget my people" (Psalm lviii. 12).† Indeed with the same reason of Christian utility the perfidious Jew, the crucifier of our Lord Christ, is allowed to live among Christians as the form of the Lord's cross is painted in the Church of Christ, viz., for the continual and most helpful remembrance‡ by all of the faithful of our Lord's Passion, and while we curse the impious action in the case of the Jew, we venerate the Divine divine with due reverence in the case of that sacred form, and thus the Jews ought to live among Christians for our use, but serve as for their own iniquity. But the Jews in England under Henry II. were by an absurd arrangement happy and renowned far more than the Christians, and swelling very impudently against Christ, owing to their good fortune did much injury to the Christians, wherefore in the days of the new King the lives which they possessed by Christ's clemency were put in danger

* Of the Premonstratensian Order. See *infra* p. 124.

† The same verse is quoted by St. Bernard (*supra*, p. 23) and by Ralph Disset (*supra* p. 113).

‡ *Cf.* St. Bernard, *supra* p. 23, "They are living symbols to us, representing the Lord's Passion."


Cliffords - Tower in YORK, AD 1684

by his just judgment, though by the beautiful arrangement of his justice those have no excuse who brought slaughter upon them by a secret rising.

[God is thus represented as acting on the principle of allowing evil to be done that good might come of it. The reference to Jewish insolence against Christ seems to refer to such incidents as that referred to at Oxford, *supra* p. 69.]

16, 17 March, 1190.—Of the fate of the Jews of York.

William of Newbury, i., 317.

Accordingly, the Jews were besieged in the royal tower, and the besieged lacked a sufficient supply of provisions, and would have been quickly starved out by hunger even if no one attacked them from without. But they did not have either a sufficient stock of arms for their own safety or for repelling the enemy. The tower was stoutly beseiged for several days, and at length the machines which had been prepared for the purpose were brought into position. The deadly work was urged on before the others by that hermit from the Præmonstratensian * canonry mentioned above, who, excited by the reports, had recently come to the city and was busily occupied with the besiegers, standing in his white garment and frequently repeating with a loud voice that Christ's enemies ought to be crushed, and encouraging the warriors by the example of his help. But it is said that on the days of the siege as

* This order was after the rule of St. Augustine, and was founded by St. Norbert, at Prœmonstratum, near Laon, in Picardy, about 1120.

he was going to the cruel work he used every morning to immolate a host, all be-blooded—for he was a priest—to such a degree had he persuaded himself with his blinded mind, and tried also to persuade others that the work on which he was engaged was a religious one. And when the machines were put in position he used to help with fervent zeal according to his strength. Hence it happened that approaching the wall rather incautiously, he did not notice a hugh rock coming down upon him, thereupon he fell forward crushed, and on being lifted up immediately expired. And it is declared that the greater criminality of that rash deed was with him who, by an unlucky chance, was the only one of our men to fall in that place.*

When the machines were thus moved into position, the taking of the Tower became certain, and it was no longer doubtful that the fatal hour was nearing for the besieged. On the following night the besiegers were quiet, rejoicing in the certainty of their approaching victory, But the Jews were brave, and braced up by their very despair, had little rest, discussing what they should do in such an extremity. Now there was there a certain old man, a most

* There was a Premonstratensian Abbey at Welbeck (Dugdale, ii., 873), which was largely supported by the Fauconbridges, one of whom was ringleader in the York massacre (*Chron. de Melsa*, i., 151). The monk here mentioned was probably a relative of the Fauconbridges, or related to Richard of Cuckney, Richard Malebysse's squire (*P. R.*, No. 124), as Cuckney is just in the neighbourhood of Welbeck. It was probably the death of this monk that made the leaders of the riot so incensed.

famous Doctor of the Law,* according to the letter that kills, who, it is said, had come from parts beyond the sea to teach the English Jews. He was honoured by all and was obeyed by all as if he had been one of the prophets. When, therefore, he was asked his advice on that occasion, he replied, "God to whom none shall say 'Why dost Thou so?' "(Eccles. viii. 4, Dan. iv. 35), orders us to die now "for the Law. And behold our death is at the door. "Unless, perchance, which God forbid, you think of "deserting the sacred Law for this brief space of life, "and choose a fate harder than any death to honest "and manly minds, namely, to live as apostates at the "mercy of impious enemies in the deepest dishonour. "Since then we ought to prefer a most glorious death "to a very dishonest life, we ought to select the "easiest and most honourable form of death. For if "we fall into the hands of the enemy we shall die at "their will and amidst their jeers. And so since the "life which the Creator gave us, He now demands "back from us, let us willingly and devoutly render it "up to Him with our own hands and let us not await "the help of hostile cruelty by giving up what He "demands. For many of our people in different "times of tribulation are known to have done the "same, preferring a form of choice most honourable "for us."† When he had said this very many of them embraced his fatal advice, but to many his word

* R. Yomtob of Joigny. See Ephraim of Bonn, *infra* p. 131.

† This speech was probably made up by William of Newbury from the similar address of Eleasar of Masada (Josephus, *Wars*,

seemed a hard one. Then the elder says, "Let those "whom this good and pious plan pleaseth not, seat "themselves apart from this holy assembly, for to us "this life on earth is now thought nothing of through "our love of the Law of our fathers." Very many of them therefore withdrew, preferring rather to try the clemency of their enemies than perish in this way with their friends. Soon at the advice of this mad elder fire consumed their richest garments in the sight of all lest the enemy should be made rich by their wealth, they passed through the fire their most precious vessels and everything they could, by their dainty envy they condemned these things to a disgraceful resting place. When this was done and fire being set to the roof which fed upon the more solid materials while the horrid deed was being done and putting in danger the lives of those who from love of life had separated themselves from them, they prepared their throats for the sacrifice. At the order of that inveterate [author] of wicked days that those men whose courage was most steady should take the life of their wives and pledges, the famous Joce cuts the throat of Anna, his dear wife, with a sharp knife,* and did not spare his own

vii., viii., ix.). The Latin Josephus occurs in all book lists of English Abbey and Cathedral libraries. At the same time it is likely enough that some address was delivered by R. Yomtob which may have been reported by the survivors of the massacre.

* Probably the knives used for the special Jewish slaughtering of cattle which are of exceptional sharpness, so as to lessen as much as possible the time employed in killing. Ephraim of

sons.* And when this had been done by the other men, that wretched elder cut Joce's throat so that he might be more honoured than the rest. All of them thus slain together with the author of their error, the fire which had been lighted by them before their death, as we have mentioned, began to burst out in the interior of the tower. Those who had chosen to live resisted as much as they could the fire lit by their own friends lest they too should die with them though unwillingly, betaking themselves to the extremity of the tower where they were least burnt. Indeed that fury of rational beings against themselves seems stupendous, nay irrational. But he who reads the history of Josephus about the Jewish war knows well enough from the ancient superstition of the Jews that that madness has lasted down to our days if perchance any sad occasion arises.† But at daybreak, when the crowd of people collected to storm the castle, those wretched remnants of the Jews standing at the gates declare with tearful voice the slaughter of their people during the night, and, throwing down from their walls their dead bodies as an ocular proof of so great sacrifice, they called out "Behold the bodies of "wretched men who were guilty of their own death "with wicked fury and when we refused to do the same

Bonn in describing the suicidal slaughter uses the same verb (*shochet*) as is employed for the slaughter of beasts.

* The great Aaron of York of the next century was a son of Josce.

† This reference to Josephus gives a clue to the literary origin of R. Yomtob's speech as reported by the historian.

"but preferred to try Christian clemency, they set "fire to the interior of this tower so that they might "burn us alive. But God has preserved us both from "the madness of our brethren and the danger of the "fire so that at last we may be at one with you in "religion. For our trouble giving us sense, we "recognise the Christian truth and desire its "charity being prepared to be laved by the sacred "baptism, as you are accustomed to demand and, "giving up our ancient rites, to be united to the "Christian church. Receive us as brothers instead "of enemies, and let us live with you in the faith and "peace of Christ." When they said this with tears many of our men were horrified at the madness of the dead and pitied the survivors. But the leaders of the conspiracy, among whom was a certain Richard with the truthful surname Evil Beast* of a most audacious character, were moved by no pity for these wretches. But speaking fair words to them deceitfully, and promising them the wished for grace with testimony of the faith so that they should not fear to come out, as soon as they did so they seized them as enemies, and though they demanded the baptism of Christ, those cruel butchers destroyed them. And of those whom this more than bestial cruelty destroyed, I would emphatically

* Malabestia=Richard Malebysse (ss=sh=Fr. ch = Male biche=Ill-bitch) is mentioned frequently in connection with this crime. *Cf. supra*, p. 77. Others' names are given in *Chron. de Melsa*, i. 115, and *P. R.* No. 24. On these and their connections see Note in Appendix.

say that if there was no deceit in their demand for sacred baptism, their own blood baptised them when defrauded in vain of the result of their petition. But whether they demanded the sacred laver deceitfully or not, the execrable cruelty of those butchers is without excuse. For without doubt their chief crime was that having no proper authority, they presumed to shed human blood like water; secondly, they were influenced more by the pang of malice than the zeal for justice; thirdly that they despised men seeking Christian grace; fourthly that they deceived the wretches with lies so that they come forth to the sacrifice.

The look of things in the city was at that time horrid and nauseous and round the citadel were lying scattered the corpses of so many unfortunates still unburied. But when the slaughter was over, the conspirators immediately went to the Cathedral and caused the terrified guardians, with violent threats, to hand over the records of the debts placed there, by which the Christians were oppressed by the royal Jewish usurers, and thereupon destroyed these records of profane avarice in the middle of the church with the sacred fires to release both themselves and many others.* Which being done, those of the conspirators who had taken the cross went on their proposed journey before any inquest; but the

* See *Pipe Roll*, items Nos. 109, 121, 170, from which it would seem that duplicates existed elsewhere in some cases. Richard was probably led by this to order all the Jews' debts to be enrolled in the Royal Treasury.

rest remained in the country in fear of an inquiry. Such were the things that happened at York at the time of the Lord's passion, that is, the day before Palm Sunday [17th March, 1190].

[This scene, one of the most heroic episodes in the sad annals of Israel, marks the close of the prosperity of the mediæval English Jews. Previously they had enjoyed exceptional prosperity, as is enviously remarked by all the chroniclers. Henceforth they are treated worse and worse by King, Church, and people till their persecutions culminate in their expulsion, just 100 years later. The immediate cause of the riots was the fever heat to which the crusading spirit had risen. To the rough logic of the people, it seemed absurd to go many thousands of miles to fight the "enemies of Christ" and yet to allow some of them to live at peace at their own doors. The Church had embittered the social relations of Jews and Christians by its enactments during the century (*Vide* pp. 15, 62) and by countenancing the myth about the boy-martyrs. The Jews had themselves done something to increase this growing antipathy by their ostentation which seems to have struck the chroniclers and by their open contempt for the more assailable sides of Catholicism, the worship of images and the creation of miracles. It was only with regard to the upper classes that their exactions as usurers were felt : the common folk lived mainly by barter and never needed any large supplies of money. It was the class of smaller barons and abbots that was most severely hampered by Jewish usury. The York massacre was a deliberate conspiracy of a certain number of these to get rid of their indebtedness by violent means (See Note in Appendix). But they were only able to effect their ends by playing upon the passions of the mob raised to fever heat by the growth of the crusading spirit.]

1190.—Jewish Account of the Massacre.

Ephraim of Bonn, *ap. Emsk*, ed. Wiener. Heb. App. pp. 9, 10.

Also in the year 4951 [1190-1] *there came wicked ones on the people of the Lord in the City of Aborick* [=Ever-

wick=York] *which is in England, on the Great Sabbath, and the time of their joy was turned to their annoy, and they destroyed the House of Prayer and Rabbi Yomtob* [of Joigny] *also, and slew about* 60 *souls and also others slew, and there was even one that ordered them to slay his only son, whose foot had hardly touched the ground going and returning. And there were some that slew themselves for the sake of the Unity, and the numbers of those slain by others or by themselves was about* 150 *souls men and women. Their holy bodies and their houses were burned, and they despised gold and silver and beautiful books of which they had written many, and they rejoiced in the money and the multitude of pure gold which were not to be equalled for beauty, and brought them to Cologne. And in the rest of the places and quarters of the Jews our enemies did thus as in these cities. And in a certain city where there were many proselytes, twenty-two men forming a congregation of proselytes, they slew them all and did not allow them to soil the vile waters* [*of baptism*], *but they all hallowed the Name of the Unity.*

Of the King's ire against the Slayers of the Jews.

William of Newbury, i., 323.

The deeds done at York were soon carried across the sea to the prince, who had guaranteed peace and security to the Jews in his kingdom after the rising at London. He is indignant and in a rage both for the insult to his royal majesty and for the great loss to the treasury, for to the treasury belonged whatever

the Jews, who are known to be the royal usurers,* seem to possess in the way of goods. Soon giving a mandate to the Bishop of Ely [William Longchamp] the Royal Chancellor and regent of the Kingdom, that such a great deed of daring should be punished with a suitable revenge, the said bishop, a man of fierce mind and eager for glory, comes to the city of York about Ascension day [May 3] with an army,† and began an inquiry to the great fear of the burgesses. But the chief and best known actors of the deeds done, leaving everything they had in the country, fled before his face to Scotland.‡ But the citizens persistently declaring that the deeds for which they were incurring his displeasure had not been done with their wish or counsel or aid, and that with slender resources they could not prevent the unbridled attack of an undisciplined mob, at length the Chancellor, having imposed a pecuniary mulct on each according to the income of his fortune, ‖ received satisfaction for not punishing them more severely. But the promiscuous and numberless mob, whose untrained zeal had been the principal cause of the deed, could not be summoned or brought to justice. And so the Chancellor,

* This is a very significant statement as showing that the real position of Jews as royal tax-gatherers was recognised at the time.

† "And to William de Longchamp and the soldiers who went to York about the slaughter of the Jews £60." *Pipe Roll*, 1 Ric. I., Everwick.

‡ See *P. R.*, item No. 99.

‖ See *P. R.*, items Nos. 99, 102, 138.

removing him who had had the administration of the country [the Sheriff John Marshall*] went off without shedding blood since he could not carry out the King's command more efficaciously. Nor has anyone been brought to punishment for that slaughter of the Jews up to this day.

[It must be remembered that the chief rioters were of the family or party of Hugh Pudsey, Prince Bishop of Durham, the great rival of William Longchamp (Miss Norgate, *England under Angevin Kings*, ii. 291). As John was on the side of Pudsey, for the time at least, his influence would prevent any further action against the Jews after the fall of Longchamp, April, 1191 (Miss Norgate, *l. c.* 299). When Richard returned in 1194 fresh attempts were made to make inquiry into the riots of 1190. See *infra* p. 157 and *P. R.*, items Nos. 138, 142. The part John took in this matter may account for his generally adverse attitude against the Jews during his reign.]

1190.—Winchester does not join in the Massacres.

Richard of Devizes, ed. Howlett, p. 383.

On that coronation day about that hour of the solemnity when the Son was sacrificed to the Father, they began in the city of London to sacrifice the Jews to their father the Devil, and so great was the delay with this celebrated mystery that the holocaust could scarcely be finished on the second day. Other cities and towns of the country imitated the piety of the Londoners, and with equal devotion sent down their bloodsuckers with blood down to hell. Something was achieved at that time, though on an unequal

* He appointed his brother Osbert to succeed Marshall. The ferm of Yorkshire is accounted for by the two in the Pipe Roll of 1 Rich. I.

scale, throughout the realm against the lost souls. Winchester alone spared her vermin, a people prudent and foreseeing, and a city always acting civilly. It never did anything in a hurry, fearing nothing so much as to repent; it thinks of the end of things before beginning them. It did not want to vomit forth the load on its stomach by which it was opposed, and took care of its bowels in the meantime, modestly concealing the trouble, till at an opportune time she might once and for ever evacuate the whole mass of disease.

[The sarcastic style of Richard of Devizes gives probably a truer picture of the temper in which the massacres were regarded than the more humanitarian view of William of Newbery.]

22 March, 1190.—A Charter by which many liberties are granted and confirmed to the Jews.

Rymer, *Fœdera*, i., 51 [Ed. 1816].

Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, duke of Normandy, &c., to his archbishops, bishops, &c., greeting:

I.—Know ye that we have granted and, by the present charter, confirmed, to Ysaac, son of Rabbi Joce, and his sons and their men, all their customs and liberties just as the Lord King Henry, our father, granted and by his charter confirmed to the Jews of England and Normandy, namely: to reside in our land freely and honorably, and to hold all those things from us which the aforesaid Isaac and his sons held in the time of Henry the King, our father, in lands, and fiefs, and pledges, and gifts, and

purchases, viz., Hame, which Henry, our father, gave them for their service, and Thurroc, which the said Isaac bought of the Count of Ferrars,* and all the houses, and messuages, and pledges which the said Isaac and his sons had in our land in the time of King Henry, our father.

II.—And if any quarrel arise between a Christian and Ysaac, or any of his children or heirs, he that appeals the other to determine the quarrel shall have witnesses, viz., a lawful Christian and a lawful Jew. And if the aforesaid Ysaac, or his heirs, or his children, have a writ about the quarrel, the writ shall serve them for testimony; and if a Christian have a quarrel against the aforesaid Jews let it be adjudicated by the peers of the Jews.

III.—And if any of the aforesaid Jews shall die let not his body be kept above ground, but let his heir have his money and his debts so that he be not disturbed if he has an heir who can answer for him and do right about his debts and his forfeits, and let the aforesaid Jews receive and buy at any time whatever is brought them except things of the church and bloodstained garments.

IV.—And if they are appealed by any one without a witness let them be quits of that appeal on their own oath upon their book [of the Law] and let them be quits from an appeal of those things which pertain to our crown on their own oath on their roll [of the Law]. And if there be any dissention between a

* It was afterwards sold by Josce, son of Ysaac, to Henry de Gray (*Rot. Cart.* i., 6*b*).

Christian and any of the aforesaid Jews or their children about the settlement of any money, the Jew shall prove the capital and the Christian the interest.

V.—And the aforesaid Jews may sell their pledges without trouble after it is certified that they have held them a year and a day, and they shall not enter into any pleadings except before us or before those who guard our castles in whose bailiwicks they themselves remain wherever they may be.

VI.—Let them go whithersoever they will with all their chattels just like our own goods and let no one keep them or prevent them. And if a Christian debtor dies, who owes money to a Jew, and the debtor has an heir, during the minority of the heir let not the Jew be disturbed of his debt unless the land of the heir is in our hands.

VII.—And we order that the Jews through all England and Normandy be free of all customs and of tolls and modiation of wine just like our own chattels, and we command and order you to ward and defend and protect them, and we forbid any one against this charter about the aforesaid to put the said Jews into plea on our forfeit.

Witnesses: Will. de Hum.', constable of Normandy, &c., &c. Given by the hand of William de Longchamp, our Chancellor, Bishop of Ely, at Rouen, on the twenty-second day of March, in the first year of our reign.



SEAL OF RICHARD I.
(From the original in the British Museum.)

[This is not a general charter for the Jews of England and Normandy, as has been hitherto assumed. It is probably a special copy of one which had been previously given to them immediately after the London massacre (see William of Newbery's remark, *supra* p. 105), adapted to the leading English Jew of the time, Isaac, son of Rabbi Josce ("Rubigotsce"), and his family and "men," whatever that may mean. The original charter was itself only a confirmation of one that had previously been given by Henry II., as is indicated by the references in the above document. It is likely enough that Henry II.'s charter was itself only a confirmation of a similar or identical one given by Henry I. For, as we shall see, John when confirming the charters of the Jews refers to one by Henry, his father's grand-

father, *i.e.* Henry I. The privileges given the Jews are sufficiently clear without much comment, though it would be worth while knowing what is exactly meant by "the peers of the Jews" in II. Probably some reference is here made to the "Bishops of the Jews," who seem to have been a kind of Jewish judges. From both II. and IV. it is clear that these were mixed courts in which Jews and Christians had concurrent jurisdiction.]

1189-91.—Contributions to the Treasury.

* *Pipe Rolls*, 1, 2 Ric. I.

91.—Benedict the Jew owes 3 marks because he detained the rents of his lord. The same Sheriff renders count of 9 marks of the community of the Jews. 1 Ric. I., Sudhants.

[Each entry offers an interesting problem. What was the exact relation of a Jew and "his lord"? How far and in what way were the Jewish "communities" organised and recognised by the government?]

92.—Abraham son of Avigay[=Abigail] owes one mark of gold because it is not contained in his deed from the Count of Arundel that the Manor of Rowell is his mortgage as it ought to have been. 1 Ric. I.

93.—Josce son of Benjamin of Oxford owes 10 marks for an amerciament for treasure trove of gold which he bought without the consent of justice. ib. Oxenford.

94.—Slema Jewess of St. Edmund owes 20 marks for right to her debts and pledges. Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes 6 marks for right to thirty pounds against Benjamin of Oxford. 1 Ric. I., 3b Nordf. and Sudf. [F. No. 73.]

95.—Samuel de Stanford owes 10 marks for having

his debts against William de Colville. But he is dead and his chattels and pledges are in the King's hand. Ibid. 4b Linc.

[*Cf.* No. 164.]

96.—For hiring carriage to carry Jews of York to London 8s. Ibid 5a. Everwich.

[They were not all killed then; or were they corpses?]

97.—Brun the Jew owes £350 of the amerciament of 2000 marks for which he made fine with the King at Waltham.

Aaron Jew of Lincoln, Abraham son of Rabbi and Isaac of Colchester owe £400 of the chattels of Brun the Jew which they received in old money of the fine which he made with the King at his crossing over the straits. 1 Ric. I., Lond. and Westin.

[See No. 29. The latter debts had been owing since 23 Hen. II.]

98.—Benedict son of Jacob owes 2 ounces of gold that his case may be heard in the King's court between him and Deodatus and Jacob Jews. Ib. Lincoln.

99.—Of the proceeds of the lands and chattels of the men who fled on account of the assault on the Jews in the city of York. Ibid. Everw.

[William of Newbury mentions that they fled to Scotland.]

99*a*.—Samuel, Jew of Newcastle, owes 20 marks because he called a warrant which he could not have. 2 Ric. I., Nordhumb.

99*b*.—Cresselin, Jew, owes 40s. for right to £11 against the Abbess of Ramsey. 2 Ric. I., Sudhants.

["But he is dead and has no right" it is added in the following year.]

100.—Debts of the Jews for the Guildford Tallage placed by the chancellor on the roll. Isaac son of Rabbi [Joce] renders count of £200 of the arrears of the Tallage of Guildford for which he made fine with the Chancellor to pay £30 per annum in two instalments . . . and he still owes £75. 2 Ric. I. 12b. (M. 251.)

[See No. 89.]

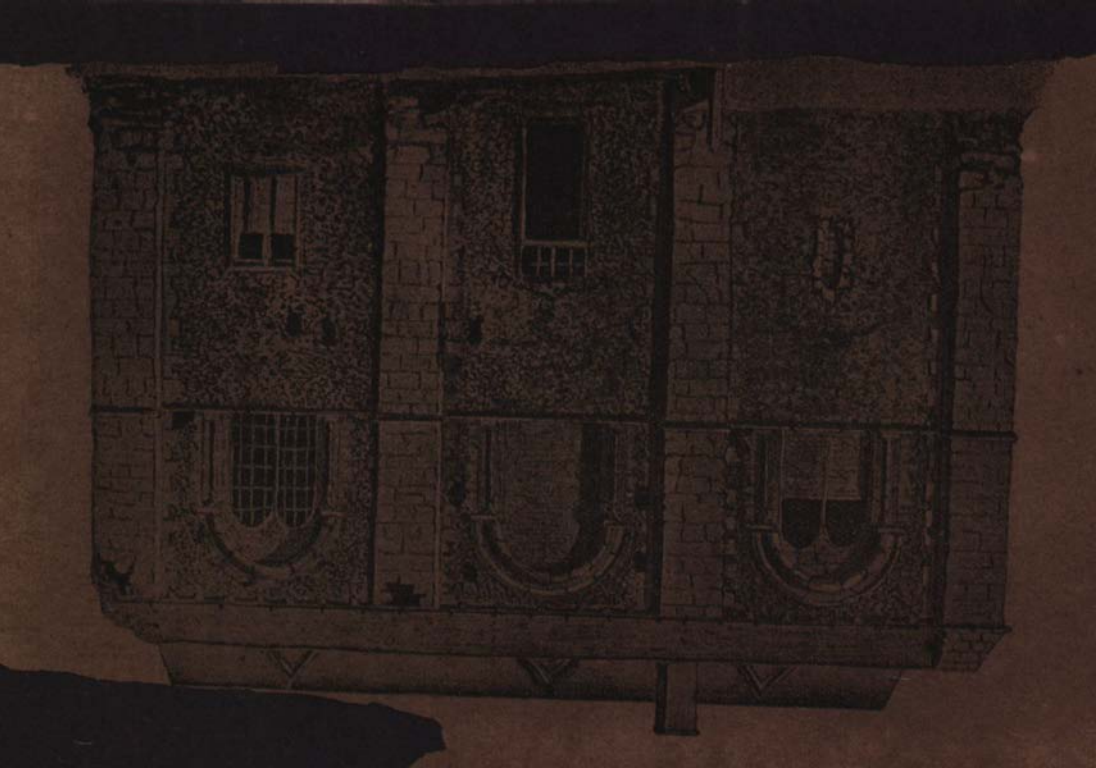
101.—Jacob, Jew, son of Samuel of Northampton, owes £500 for the debts and chattels of his father of which he ought to pay 120 marks, viz., 60 at Easter and 60 at Michaelmas. 2 Ric. I., Norhants.

102.—And in his [the Sheriff's] surplus which he has below in the account of the land of the men who fled for the assault on the Jews of York £59 . . . David de Popelton renders count of 20 marks for the Jews. 2 Ric. I., Everwich.

[The last entry is followed by 50 other names; the whole amount of fines 342 marks.]

103.—Of those who paid up for the aforesaid pleas [on the Jews] the same Sheriff renders count of four score and eleven marks and 10 shillings of the amerciament of the men of York for the Jews, whose names and debts are noted in the Chancellor's roll which they paid into the Treasury. Paid in the Treasury by 58 tallies and is quits. 2 Ric. I., Everwich.

104.—Avegay, Jewess of London, owes £62 3s. 4d. of the balance of 200 marks which she owed to our



ord the King's father of the tallage at Guildford of
ich she has to pay £20 per annum. 2 Ric. I.
erwich.

104*a*.—Account of the purchase of ships that
nt to Jerusalem. . . . And of £100 which he
Henry of Cornhill] received from Richard, arch-
acon of Canterbury, and Robert, archdeacon of
ucester, out of the moneys of Aaron the Jew.

This gives the names of the treasurers of Aaron's Exchequer.
e clerks are also mentioned P. R. item No. 105a.]

90.—Abbot Samson gets the Jews expelled from Edmondsbury.

Joce de Brakelond, p. 33.

The lord abbot sought from the King a writ hereby the Jews might be ejected from the town of t. Edmond, alleging that whatever is in the town f St. Edmond or within its banlieu is under the urisdiction of St. Edmond: therefore the Jews ought ither to be men of St. Edmond* or be ejected from he town. License was therefore given him that he hould eject them, but on condition that they should have their chattels as well as the price of their houses nd lands. And when they were sent forth and con-ucted with an armed band to various cities the abbot rdered that excommunication should be declared in ll churches and at all altars against anyone should enceforth take in Jews or give them lodging in the

* They could not be men of St. Edmond as they were men of he King.

town of St. Edmond. But this was afterwards modified by the justiciars of the King to the effect that if Jews should come to the great pleas of the abbot to demand their debts from their debtors* on such occasions they might be lodged for two days and two nights in the town, but freely depart on the third day.

[Samson was an enemy of the Jews. *Cf. supra* p. 78. Their synagogue at Edmonsbury is still in existence, being used as a police-station under the name of Moyses' Hall. The engraving opposite is from a sketch in the British Museum taken 100 years ago.]

1191-2.—Contributions to the Treasury.

* *Pipe Roll*, 3 Ric. I.

105.—Josce son of Lia of Bristol renders count of one hundred shillings of the second thousand marks which the Jews of England promised our Lord the King. 3 Ric. I. (M. i. 233).

[*Cf.* No. 43.]

105*a*.—And to Joseph and Roger, clerks of the King in the Exchequer of Aaron [of Lincoln] two marks and a half for a gift by King's writ. 3 Ric. I. 11b. Lond. and Midd.

[See Nos. 27, 54.]

106.—Of the debts of Aaron.

[Under this heading are enumerated in the rolls of 3-5 Ric. I. Bucks 4 items, Wilts 3, Worcester and Warwick 21, Canteb 1, Becks 1, Norf. 19 and 16, Sussex 1, Oxford 7, Cumberland 6, Gloucester 2, York 80 (including 20 Jews), Hereford 5, North-

* The abbey itself was not out of debt to them before 1194 *(vide supra*, p. 78*)*.

ampton 28, Hants. 7, Lond. and Middl. 40, Shropshire 3, Linc. 186, in all 430 debts amounting to about £15000.]

107.—Arrears of the Tallage of the Jews of London made at Guildford. 3 Ric. I., Lond. and Middl.

[Follows a list of 38 names owing about £2860. The names and some of the fines are given *supra* p. 88. Similar lists in this and following years occur for Essex 12 (£400), Sussex (£285), Kent 12 (£140).]

108.—Josce de Ebor owes 12½ marks for a silver vessel. 3 Ric. I., Everw. Of Aaron's debts.

[But he was dead, having been killed last by R. Yomtob at the York massacre. This debt must have been brought against his estate.]

109.—Robert de Hœsel owes 20 marks for his fine for the debts which his father owed to the Jews of York. 3 Ric. I., Everwich.

[From this and other entries it is clear that the burning of the promissory notes in York Minster did not help the York Jews' debtors much. *Cf.* No. 121.]

110.—Margaret, who was the wife of Benedict, son of Sarra, owes 20s. for having had her debt unjustly against Robert Williamson de Evlega. 3 Ric. I., Sudsex.

111.—Of the debts of Aaron. Deulebenie of Rising owes 100 marks on the surety of the Earl of Arundel. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. Benedict, Jew of Chichester, owes £100 on the surety of the Earl of Arundel. 1 b. Sudsex.

[This was one of the ways in which the King got a hold on the Barons by means of the Jews to whom they were indebted. Hence the clauses in Magna Charta against the transfer of Jews' debts to others.]

112.—Benedict, brother of Jurnet, owes £140 of

the arrears of 10,000 marks. Ursell, son of Brun, 30s. for the same. Sancto, Jew of St. Edmund's, owes 42s. for the aforesaid arrears. Samson, of Bungay, owes 100s. for the same. 3 Ric. I., Nordf.

[This casual mention is the only reference I know of to a tallage of 10,000 marks which was probably in the time of Hen. II.]

113.—Deodatus, Jew, owes 6 marks and 8s. 10d. for a writ about 20 marks. Ursel, son of Pulcella, owes 5 marks because he did not give up to Ysaac his debt. Matathias the Jew owes half a mark because he has confessed what he previously denied. Sarra the Jew and her sons owe 23s. 3d. for having right to 5 marks and 3s. 3 Ric. I., Lincol.

[Notice again the large proportion of the debt claimed by the King.]

114.—Ranulf de Glanville owes one mark because he confessed that he had received from Samuel, Jew of Northampton, who owed it for a concord between Margaret of London and their sons and daughter. But it should be required in Norft. 3 Ric. I., Norhant.

[See No. 58.]

115.—The town of Ospringe owes 20 marks because it did not make hue and cry for a slain Jew. 3 Ric I., Chent.

[Was this during one of the riots at the same time as the York massacre? The town still owes the sum as late as 6 J.]

116.—Josce son of Leo of Warwick owes 100 marks for his fine and for having the debts and chattels of his father. 3 Ric. I., Wirec. and Warw.

117.—Of the amerciaments of the men of the city for the assault on the Jews. 3 Ric. I., Lincoln.

[Follows a list of 80 names. It has hitherto been thought that the Jews of Lincoln escaped, but this entry would seem to show the contrary.]

118,—Jacob, Jew of Winton, owes £50 of the £100 which Ursell the husband of Drua his daughter gave Drua herself in dowry before she can have those £100. 3 Ric. I., Oxinf.

119.—Josce Crispin and two daughters of Morell and their pledges owe 100s. for their share of the books of the said Morell. 3 Ric. I., Nordf.

[This Morell was probably Samuel son of Solomon of Falaise who is known among the Tosafists or Glossators of the Talmud as "Sir Morell of England," *cf.* Steinschneider, *Cat. Lib. Heb. Bodl.*, No. 7068, and *supra* p. 53. He must have had a fine library.]

120.—Judas the Bishop [levesq] owes 50s. of his receipts which he had received from the Christians of Lincol. 3. Ric. I., Linc.

[Doutless as compensation for the riot. On "Bishop" see No. 31.]

121.—The sons of Benedict the Jew owe 700 marks to have the lands of their father and of his debts according to his charters. 3 Ric. I., Everw.

[The duplicate charters have been burnt by the rioters in York Minster. Benedict had died in London after being forcibly converted. His sons have desired to his have debts on the sole authority of the counterfoils in their possession without comparing them as usual with the originals.

122.—Richard Malebysse owes £20 to have his forest rights as he had them in the time of Henry the King's father. 3 Ric. I., Everwicu.

Bef. 1192.—De minimis non curat Lex Talmudica.*

Or Sarua (Heb.) i., § 453.

It happened that a piece of meat came to me on which a piece of fat was sticking, and this piece was not 60 *times as big as the fat, but it had been sold with other pieces of meat, and these pieces all together were* 60 *times as much as the piece of fat. And I saw that the Rabbis allowed [the meat to be eaten], and they have also shown a Response of R. Samuel, of blessed memory, called Morell, and he allowed it.*

[It is a Talmudic principle that if any forbidden food gets mixed with what is lawful, it may be eaten provided that it is not more than one-sixtieth of the whole mass. The R. Samuel here mentioned is "Sir Morell of Angleterre." See *Pipe Roll*, item No. 119, and *supra* p. 53.]

1192.—Alleged Martyrdom of a Boy at Winchester.

Richard of Devizes, ed. Howlett, p. 435.

Because Winchester had not to be deprived of her due reward for preserving peace to the Jews, as was told at the beginning of the book,† the Jews of Winchester, studious for the honour of their city, in their Jewish way earned renowned glory for themselves by martyring a boy at Winchester, as was shown by the indications of the deed though by chance the deed itself was absent.‡ The case was like this. A certain Jew had taken as the house-boy of his family a

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

† Where it is mentioned that the Jews of this date were not disturbed in 1190. *Vide supra.*

‡ Does this mean that the whole story is a fiction?

certain Christian lad, a student of the sutorial art. He did not live there continually at work, and never was allowed to do anything much lest his living with them should prove that his slaughter was premeditated, and as for less work he was better paid there than elsewhere he frequently visited the demon's house ensnared by his gifts and guile. He was indeed French by birth, a pupil and an orphan, of low condition and extreme poverty. Much pitying his miseries in France a certain French Jew frequently persuaded him to go to England, a land flowing with milk and honey: he assured him that the English were liberal and well-fed, that there no one who strove after honesty would die poor. The lad, ready like all Frenchmen to do what you will, took with him a companion of his own age and country and girt himself for his foreign travels, having nought in his hand but a staff, nought in his scrip but a crust.

He said good bye to his Jew, who said "Be a man. May the God of my fathers lead you as I desire." Then, placing his hands on his head as if he were the scapegoat, after some clearings out of his throat and silent curses he continued, being now secure of his prey, "Be of a brave mind, forget thy people and thy land, for every land is a 'fatherland to the brave like the sea to the fish, and any clear space to the vacant bird" [Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 493.] When thou enterest England, if thou come to London thou wilt quickly pass through it, for that [metro]polis displeaseth me much. All kinds of men flow into it from all the nations under the sky. Every nation brings

its own vices and its own customs into the city. None lives in it free from crime, not a citizen that does not abound in sad obscenities, a man is there reckoned to be better the deeper he is in crime. I know whom I am talking to; thou hast beyond thy age a fervid intellect and a cold memory, things contrary to one another, and a temperate reason. I have no fears for thee unless thou dwell with evil livers, for manners are formed by communication. Well, well. Thou wilt come to London. So I forewarn thee whatever ill or malice is in all and each part of the world that shalt thou find in that single city. Avoid the band of pimps, mix not with the crowds of gamesters, avoid the dice and the gaming table, the theatre and the tavern. Thou wilt come across more bullies than are in all France, the number of parasites is infinite. Actors, buffoons, eunuchs, garamanters, flatterers, pages, cowards, effeminates, dancing-girls, apothecaries, favourites, witches, vultures, owls, magicians, mimes, mendicants, dancers, &c., fill every house. Therefore, unless thou wilt live with the wicked, thou shalt not inhabit London. I am not speaking against the learned, whether clergy or Jews; although, from their communion with the wicked I should think them less perfect there than elsewhere.

"My speech is not to the end that thou shalt not betake thyself to any city; my advice is that you must stop nowhere but in a city; the question is which? If, therefore, thou direct thyself to Canterbury thou wilt lose thy journey, nay, even if thou

pass through it. There is in it the whole collection of lost souls around a man recently deified—I forget his name,* he was archpriest of the men of Canterbury —and often for want of bread and want of work they die in the open air in the streets. Rochester and Chichester are little villages, and there is no reason why they should be called cities except as seats of bishops. Oxford does not sustain, still less satisfy, her inhabitants. Exeter feeds men and beasts with the same corn. Bath placed or misplaced at the bottom of a valley amid thick air and sulphurous vapours is clearly at the very gates of Hell. Nor in the northern cities wilt thou choose a dwelling for thyself, Worcester, Chester, and Hereford, lavish of life on account of the Welsh; York aboundeth with Scotchmen, foul and fickle apologies for men. Ely village is always putrid from the swamps roundabout. In Durham, Norwich, and Lincoln there are few of thy condition; thou wilt hear scarcely any speaking Romance. At Bristol there is not one that is not or will not be a soapboiler, and every Frenchman hates a soapboiler like a scavenger. Out of the cities every town, village, and manor has rude and rustic habitants. Besides always consider the Cornishmen like in France the Flemish are held to be. But in general the land itself is most rich in the dew of the sky and the fatness of the soil; in every place they are good, but much less in the whole lot of them than in one, Winchester.

* This is a subtle dramatic touch.

"This is the Jerusalem of the Jews in those parts: here alone they enjoy perpetual peace, this is the school for those who want to live and thrive. Here real men are made, have enough bread and wine for nothing. There are there monks of such piety and kindness, clergy of such wisdom and liberality, citizens of such civility and good faith, women of such beauty and modesty, that only a little holds me back from going there and becoming a Christian with such Christians. I direct thee to this city, the town of towns, the mother of all and the superior of all. It has one fault, an only one, in which it commonly indulges. I say it with all submission to literary men and Jews, but the Wintonians tell lies like watchmen even in telling stories. I have much more I could tell thee even about my own business, but lest thou hear it not or forget it, thou shalt place this note in the hands of my Jewish friend, for I think thou wilt be rewarded someway by him too." The writing was short in Hebrew. The Jew read it out and the boy putting a good interpretation on all this arrives at Winchester.

His awl sufficed him and his comrade for a living, and unfortunately the cruel kindness and bloody benignity of the Jew served him for a solace by means of the letter. Whenever the poor lads worked or eat by turns each day, then each night in a cow's manger they slept together in one cot. Day follows day and month month, and the time hastened to approach when the boy, whom we have led so far and so curiously, had to depart. The day came of

the adoration of the rood and the boy on that day working for his Jew, whatever was done in the meantime, did not reappear. It was indeed near Passover a feast of the Jews. His friend wondering at his absence when he did not come to bed is frightened that night by many dreams. When he did not find him, though he searched for several days through the whole city, he went simply to the Jew to see if he would still send his provision. But he, instead of receiving him kindly as usual, was bitter, and noticing this and the marked change of word and face, the lad having a shrill voice and a wonderful flow of words breaks out into abuse, accusing him with loud cries of the removal of his friend. "Thou son of a dirty whore," says he, "thou robber, thou traitor, thou devil, thou hast crucified my friend. Woe is me! Why have I not the strength of a man? I would tear thee to pieces with my own hands." As he was shouting in the house his words were heard in the street, and Jews and Christians came running up from all sides. The lad sticks to his point, and, being more fearless on account of the crowd, on the bystanders asking him, begins to speak up for his friend: "O ye that are present," he says, "see if there is a grief like my grief [Lam. i. 12]. That Jew is a devil; he has torn my heart from my breast; he has butchered my comrade; I even fancy he has eaten him. A certain son of the devil, a French Jew, I do not know or understand how, that Jew gave my comrade letters of death to that man there. Indeed, nay seduced by him, he came to this city. He often served this Jew

and was last seen in his house." He was not without witness in some points since a Christian woman, who against the canons * nursed the little Jews in the same house, used constantly to swear that she had seen the boy descend into the Jew's cellar without returning. The Jew is seized and carried before the judge. There were no accusers, for the boy was under age, the woman infamous because she did service of the Jews. The Jew obtained purgation of conscience on account of the infamy. He won over the judges by gold.

[It is clear that Richard of Devizes did not believe in the charge he reports, but only uses it as a peg on which to hang his humorous description of the different towns of England, for the sake of which I have given the passage in full.]



* *Vide supra* p. 62.

Bef. 1198.—The result of entering a Jewish House.

Robertson, *Materials for Life of Becket*, ii. 7.

By a similar piety we know Godeliva of Canterbury to have been seized, who taking some water [sanctified by St. Thomas] in a wooden bucket, was passing through the inn (*hospitium*) of a certain Jew and entered it at the invitation of a Jewish woman. For being skilled in charms and incantations she was accustomed to charm the weak foot of the Jewess. But scarcely had her foot entered the abominate house when the bucket flew into three pieces and by the loss of the water she learned the wicked intuitions of her own mind, and understanding that she had committed a fault she returned no more to that Jewess.

[This is included among the miracles attributed to St. Thomas. It serves to show the popular feeling about the Jews. It is curious, however, to see the Christian woman employed in charming the foot of the Jewess. Generally the relations are reversed.]

1193.—Jewish Contributions to the Treasury.

* *Pipe Rolls*, 4 Ric. 1.

123.—Benedict son of Josce Quatrebuches owes 200 marks that he might have the charters and chattels of his father and an accord between him and Ysaac and Abraham sons of Rabbi, and that he might not (without special direction from the King) be impleaded for concealing his father's chattels. 4 Ric. I. 11. Lond. and Midd.

124.—Richard Malebyss renders count of 20 marks

for having his land again till the advent of the King which had been seized in the hand of the King on account of the slaughter of the Jews at York, and that he and Walter de Carton and Richard de Kukeney, his squires, might have the King's peace till the advent of the King. 4 Ric. I. (M. 334). William de Percy, Knight and Picot, Roger de Ripun and Alan Malekake owe 5 marks for the same. Ibid.

[All these were connected together, see Stubbs' *Hoveden*, iii. p. xlv. note and Appendix *infra*. R. Malebysse was the ancestor of the Beckwithes and nephew of Agnes Percy.]

125.—Samuel and Israel sons of Abraham owe 500 marks for the fine which they made to have £500 of the debt of William de Guinx which he owed to Aaron for a charter and the charter was returned to them. 4 Ric. I., Lond.

[There was probably some interest owing on the charter, or else the Jews would not have made a very good bargain.]

125*a*.—Isaac the Jew and Fluria his wife render count of £12 for their house in Shortenstrete in Winchester: [Cr] by King's writ to the same Isaac and his wife Fluria £12. Because it was acknowledged at the Exchequer at Westminster in the presence of Walter Archbishop of Rouen and Richard Bishop of London and the rest of the King's Justiciars by Henry Bishop of Coventry and Geoffrey son of Peter and Roger son of Renfred that they are quits therefrom by 9 marks and 6s. and 8d. which they have paid into the treasury. And so they are quits. 4 Ric. I. Sudhants.

126.—Leo, Jew of Worcester, owes 20 marks that he might be bailed out of the King's prison in which

he was placed for a forcible entry into the hospital of Worcester. The same owes 10 marks for having his rights to £20 against the Abbot of Persora. 4 Ric. I., Wincest.

[It is not clear whether the entry was a case of burglary properly so called or a case of enforcing an illegal claim. The former would probably have been more severely punished. Leo pays next year.]

127.—Vives son of Josce owes half a mark for a surety for the Jews of Cambridge. Vives brother of David renders count of 40s. for the same, Bonevie 10 marks for the same, David son of Cypora 5 marks for the same. 4 Ric. I., Canteb.

[Cypora=Zippora. Many Jews are mentioned as the sons of their mother possibly because their father had been converted, but *cf. contra* the case of Abraham son of Avigay whose father's name we know from No. 23.]

128.—Judas, Jew of Bristol, owes two ounces of gold for an inquisition made in a chapter of the Jews [in capitulo Judæorum] whether a Jew ought to take usury from a Jew. 4 Ric. I.

[The chapter of the Jews was the *Beth Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal presided over by the three *Dayanim* or "Bishops." There could be only one reply in face of Deut. xxiii. 20, but this could be and was evaded by getting a Christian "man of straw" to act as intermediary. The Jew lent to the Christian, the Christian to the other Jew, and both took usury.]

1194.—Form of Proceedure in the Pleas of the King's Crown.

Hoveden, iii. 263.

9.—Likewise of the slayers of the Jews who they are, and of the pledges of the slain Jews and their chattels and lands and debts and deeds, and who has

them and who owed them, how much and what mortgages they had, and who holds them and how much they are worth, and who receives the proceeds and what. And all the pledges and debts of the slain Jews are to be taken into the King's hands, and those who were present at the slaying of the Jews and have not made fine with our lord the King or his justiciars, shall be arrested and not liberated except by our lord the King or his justiciars.

10.—Likewise of all the aids given for the redemption of our lord the King, who has promised how much and how much he has paid and how much he is in arrears.

15.—Likewise of the usurers that are dead and their chattels.

23.—Justiciars are nominated, together with the bailiff of William of the church of St. Mary and Godfrey Fitz-Peter, and William de Chimilli and William Bruere, and Hugo Bardulf.

[This document represents the tardy justice done on the Anti-Jewish riots of 1189-90, when the King returned in 1194. Comparing 9 with 15 we find a further confirmation of the view that the goods of Jews escheated at their death to the King *quâ* usurers, not *quâ* Jews. The two Williams of 23 are mentioned in the Ordinances of the Jews on the next page.]

1194.—The Jewry is organised: the Ordinances of the Jews.

Roger de Hoveden, iii. 266.

All the debts, pledges, mortgages, lands, houses, rents, and possessions of the Jews shall be registered. The Jew who shall conceal any of these shall forfeit to the King his body and the thing concealed, and

likewise all his possessions and chattels, neither shall it be lawful to the Jew to recover the thing concealed.

Likewise six or seven places * shall be provided in which they shall make all their contracts, and there shall be appointed two lawyers that are Christians and two lawyers that are Jews, and two legal registrars, and before them and the clerks of William of the Church of St. Mary's and William of Chimilli, shall their contracts be made.

And charters shall be made of their contracts by way of indenture. And one part of the indenture shall remain with the Jew, sealed with the seal of him, to whom the money is lent, and the other part shall remain in the common chest: wherein there shall be three locks and keys, whereof the two Christians shall keep one key, and the two Jews another, and the clerks of William of the Church of St. Mary and of William of Chimilli shall keep the third. And moreover, there shall be three seals to it, and those who keep the seals shall put the seals thereto.

Moreover the clerks of the said William and William shall keep a roll of the transcripts of all the charters, and as the charters shall be altered so let the roll be likewise. For every charter there shall be threepence paid, one moiety thereof by the Jews and the other moiety by him to whom the money is lent; whereof the two writers shall have twopence and the keeper of the roll the third.

And from henceforth no contract shall be made

* Probably London, Lincoln, Norwich, Winchester, Canterbury, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Hereford, or Bristol.

with, nor payment made to, the Jews, nor any alteration made in the charters, except before the said persons or the greater part of them, if all of them cannot be present. And the aforesaid two Christians shall have one roll of the debts or receipts of the payments which from henceforth are to be made to the Jews, and the two Jews one and the keeper of the roll one.

Moreover every Jew shall swear on his Roll, that all his debts and pledges and rents, and all his goods and his possessions, he shall cause to be enrolled, and that he shall conceal nothing as is aforesaid. And if he shall know that anyone shall conceal anything he shall secretly reveal it to the Justices sent to them, and that they shall detect and shew unto them all falsifiers or forgers of the charters and clippers of money, where or when they shall know them, and likewise all false charters.

[This important document marks the beginning of a new *regime* for the Jewry leading on to the Exchequer of the Jews of the thirteenth century (ably described by Dr. C. Gvoss in the *Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*). Hitherto while the King made use of the Jews as indirect tax-gatherers no formal expression had been given to the fact. Two events seem to have determined the Norman officials to recognise formally the position of the Jews and to create a special branch of the Treasury to control Jewish usury. In the first place the enormous windfall that came to the Exchequer with the death of Aaron of Lincoln must have opened the eyes of the Treasurer to the possibilities of Jewish usury, and at the same time forced him to open a special account (the *Scaccarium Aaronis*) for the large business which it brought in its train. Secondly, the massacres of 1189-90, while further enforcing the lesson of Aaron of Lin-

coln, brought out the necessity of some check and record of Jewish business to protect both the King and the debtor. Within five years the organisation of the Exchequer of the Jews was so far advanced that all the Jewish items of the Pipe Rolls were removed from them. See *infra*, *Pipe Roll* items, Nos. 163-71.]

1194.—John of Brompton's Account.

Twysden, *X. Scriptores*, 1258.

Besides he also placed Proctors over the Jews who might decide between Christian and Jew or even between Jews if ought of quarrel should arise. In order to stop the deceitful machinations of the Jews he ordered that no contract should be made secretly between a Catholic and a Jew, but that contracts should be made under the testimony of persons deputed for that purpose. And threefold copies should be made thereon of which one should remain with the treasury officials or in the custody of a trustworthy person and the third with the Jew; so that if any cheat be attempted as before, it might be proved by the aforesaid duplicate. He prohibited Christians to be usurers or to receive on account of any agreement anything beyond what was lent.

[Brompton's account, though somewhat late and not too trustworthy, adds two important items (1) the appointment of 2 Proctors (later Justiciars) of the Jews, (2) that one of the motives of the new arrangement was to protect debtors against fraud.]

1194.—The Debts of Aaron.

* *Pipe Roll*, 5 Ric. I.

129.—Of the debts of Aaron, Robert, Earl of Leicester, owes £452 6s. 8d. on Blenford and Kingston in Dorset, and Sepwich and Hakemot and

Compton and Colingburn and Everley, Wikingston and Turmsdeston and Belgrave and Shep church and Androdesly and Normanton and Seldton. And £37 by another charter. 5 Ric. I. 8. Waur.

[See Nos. 27, 50. By 3 Jo. it appears that he had paid off this £240 6s. 8d. to Aaron himself. By that date, 15 years after Aaron's death, 146 of his former debtors owed £4737 1s. 6d.]

130.—Benedict son of Isaac the Jew £100 and one mark of gold "de obol. Musce" or ten marks of silver for his fine for charters of Aaron bought from the Chancellor. 5 Ric. r. 3. m. 1.

[Madox (p. 189) confesses his ignorance of what *Musce* means. Can this Benedict be a son of the Isaac of Russia of No. 41, and 'Musce' refer to money of Moscow or Muscovy? It was better business for the King for other Jews to take up the debts of a Jew deceased as *he* could not charge interest and they could. While in the King's hands a Jew's debt lay dormant].

131.—Mosse son of Abraham owes £24 6s. 8d. on his house. Deulecresse de Winton owes 34 marks on his house and lands. 5 Ric. I., Sudhants.

[These were among Aaron of Lincoln's property.]

132.—Aaron brother of Leon of Dunstable owes 20s. for having right to 30s. against Hugh fil Yvon and for 20s. against Ric. fil Essvj and for 2 marks against Robert Blund. Mosse son of Mosse owes 20s. for a debt of 5 marks against Calford de Lega. Josce son of Mosse owes 4 shillings for 20s. against Gilbert Passelewe. 5 Ric. I., Bucks. and Berks.

[Observe the large proportion of the debt claimed by the King, nearly one-quarter on the average.]

133.—Aaron son of Samuel of Northampton owes 100s. because he denied what he said before. Vives son of Jacob owes 15 marks for the same. Hakelin

son of Josce [? Quatrebuches] owes one mark for the same. 5 Ric. I., Norhant.

[Hakelin seems to have shifted his quarters from London to Northampton. See *Pipe Roll Item*, No. 45.]

134.—Ursell of Gipeswich and Ysaac of Bedford and Seignured of St. Edmund render count of 50 marks for having custody of the chattels of Ysaac, Jew of St. Edmund, which are reckoned at £120 (who was killed at Thedford) for the benefit of the heir of the deceased. 5 Ric. I., Bucks and Berks.

[This seems to show that there was a riot at Thetford probably in the Easter of 1190.]

135.—Richard Basset owes £22 for a fine made for all the debts which he owed to Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, on the day he was alive and dead. 5 Ric. I., Norhant.

136.—Of the debts of the Jews which they owed to the aforesaid Aaron [of Lincoln] see in the roll of the preceding year where the names of debtors and debts are noted of which this is the sum, viz. £396 4s. 8d. 5 Ric. I., Everw.

138.—The citizens of York render count of 10 marks for having their hostages who were at Northampton on account of the slaughter of the Jews. 5 Ric. I.

[No one was punished, says William of Newbury. The hostages were therefore only a precaution against a fresh outbreak. But no Jews were living at York at this date as there is no contribution from York in a list of contributors to a Tallage of 5000 marks for this year preserved at the Record Office. *Q. R. Misc.*, 556, No. 2. See next page.]

Bef. 1194.—Hebrew Grammar of Samuel le Pointur of Bristol.

Steinschneider. *Cat. Heb. MSS., Berlin*, p. 100.

[In the Royal Library at Berlin there is a Hebrew MS. containing an early and important Hebrew Grammar by one Samuel Nakdan or the Punctuator. I have identified him with the 'Samuel le Pointur' living at Bristol in 1194 and paying part of the promised contribution to Richard on his return to England from captivity. For R. Moses ben Isaac of England quotes two men as 'Nakdanim' or Punctuators, and both occur with the addition of the title 'Pointur' or 'Puncteur' in this roll. See *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i. 182, ii. 322-33 (articles by Dr. Neubauer and myself). Besides this Benedict of Oxford in his comments on Job quotes this very Samuel. Dr Steinschneider, who however was unaware of the English origin of Samuel, calls his treatise 'perhaps the oldest and fullest sources for the beginnings of Hebrew Grammar among the French and German Jews before they were affected by the Spanish school,' Kimchi, &c.]

1194.—Gift of the Jews of England to King Richard.

* Public Record Office, *Misc. Q.R.*, 556-2.

From the Jews in Easter term in the fifth year of King Richard.

Receipts of moneys made at Westminster of the promise of the Jews of all England given at Northampton [30 March, 1194] after the return of our lord the King from Germany.

FIVE THOUSAND MARKS.

[This is the title of a roll of three membranes containing names of Jews and their contributions, ranged under towns and counties. Some towns have double lists or the names occur again in the county lists, which were mostly collected by William of Buckingham. The following (tentative) table gives the sums contributed and the number of names in each town mentioned.

Counties are asterisked and the nett number of names is given after the sums of towns with more than one list. The absence of York, Stamford, Lynn, and Bury is explained by the massacres. The total is not much more than half the sum promised.

London	486	9	7 (29)
	109	13	9 (18)
	374	15	0 (26)
	2	0	10 (1)
Lincoln	287	4	11 (40)
	44	14	7 (22)
	*242	10	4 (33)
Canterbury...	241	12	4 (23)
	82	5	6 (14)
	*159	6	10 (13)
Northampton*	165	13	11 (36)
	45	16	7 (8)
	26	17	1 (9)
	*38	15	4 (6)
	*54	4	11 (26)
Glouces-ter ...	118	17	8 (21)
	20	9	0 (5)
	1	6	0 (1)
	*97	2	8 (18)
Cambridge	96	5	4 (18)
	28	7	0 (8)
	*67	18	4 (15)
Norwich	88	9	4 (13)
Warwick	60	16	2 (12)
	14	18	0 (6)
	45	18	2 (10)
South Hampsh.	48	6	0 (9)
Oxford ...	44	1	6 (5)
	31	0	10 (4)
	13	6	8 (1)
Winches-ter.....	43	10	6 (7)
	40	10	6 (6)
	3	0	0 (1)
Colches-ter	41	7	0 (8)
Chiches-ter	26	0	0 (7)
Bristol ...	21	12	4 (11)
	1	7	0 (2)
	20	5	4 (10)
Hereford	15	11	11 (10)
	10	2	8 (7)
	1	5	0 (1)
	4	4	3 (2)
*Notts....	5	7	4 (4)
Worcester	4	8	0 (5)
*Bedfords.	1	8	0 (7)
Exeter ...	1	3	8 (1)
Walling-ford ...	1	0	0 (1)
Coventry	0	16	1 (1)
Undeter-mined	3	6	0 (5)
	1803	7	7 (271)

All the names, so far as decipherable, are given in the Appendix, but we may give here as a sample of the lists the two for London. Notice the three Bishops. *

Londonia.	W. de Buckingham, from the chattels of Samson £8 0 0
Samson fil Abraham, £7 13 4, £3.	Abraham fil Avegay 18 13 4
Deulesalt, £40, £8, £8, £8 13 4.	Isaac son-in-law of Avegay 2 2 0
Avegay, Jewess of London, £6 13 4, £5 13 4, £7.	Vives fil Magri Aron 0 14 0
Leun le Blund, £1 10 0, £3.	Vives le Vesq..... 2 5 4
Samuel fil Abraham, £1 10 0.	

* Northampton probably owes its position to the fact that the promise was made there.

Benedict Quatrebuches, £3.
Abraham fil Avegay, £6, £1, £8.
Benedict Parvus, £5.
Mosse de Kant', £2 13 0.
Salemun fil Magistri, £1.
Vives le Vesque, £1.
Murien' fil Isaac de [Lond.] £2.
Abraham Quatrebuches, £1 10.
Leun fil [Magri], £1.
Elia fil Magistri, £1.
Abraham fil Benedict, £5.
Josce fil Deunesaut, £2.
Muriel the Jewess, £5.

Londres,
By the hand of Will. de Buckingham.

Peter fil Isaac	£2	14	0
Abraham fil Brun ..	16	11	8
Benedict Parvus ..	46	0	0
Avegay	21	0	8
Abraham Levi	4	6	8
Benedict fil Vives ..	0	14	8
Josce fil Magistri ..	0	16	4
Sarre	1	3	4
Murie	16	3	4
Elias fil Magistri ..	1	2	0
Salumun fil Magistri	3	8	8
Leun fil Magistri ..	15	18	4
Abraham le Vesk ..	1	12	8
Slema	4	13	4
Delesaut	70	17	4
Josce fil Deulesaut	6	6	8
Benedict Quatrebuches.....	32	0	0
Josce fil Isaac	53	0	0
Brun	17	10	0
Mosse Levi	9	0	0
Isaac Quatrebuches	1	1	0
Deulesaut le Veske	21	0	0
Of the promise of 3000 marks.*			
Slema the Jewess ..	2	0	10

It is difficult to understand how the lists were made out, why in the first several sums are given after various names which do not occur in the second. Also why some names occur in both, some only in the second. That there are several names missing is shown by a comparison with the list on p. 88, which contains 33 additional names, and may be guessed from the fact that of the promised sum only a little more than half is given. No reference however, so far as I can find, is contained in the Pipe Rolls of later years to any arrears of the 5000 marks which must have been paid up in another list.]

* Under Norwich there is also a payment of £20, 'of the promise of 3000 marks' and 6s. 'of the old tallage,' and under Worcester a reference to the 'besants of Gloucester, Bristol, and Worcester.'

20 Oct., 1194.—Jurnet the Jew lends his Christian father-in-law five shillings.

Placitorum Abbrev., 64*a*.

Assize [at Norwich, 10 Jo.] Ralph de Herlham and Ralph son of Alfred have unjustly disseissined Humfrey de Erlham of his free tenement in Herlham, &c. And they [*i.e.* the two Ralphs] say that they have not disseissined him since they have a certain mill, which the jury have visited, from Isaac the Jew to farm. . . . And the bailiff of the Jew showed a certain charter in which it was contained that the same Humphrey had pledged his whole land of Herlham to Jurnet the Jew and Muriel his wife, and Isaac his son, for five shillings principal and one penny every week for interest from the time Walter [? John] de Custances was hallowed as Bishop of Worcester [20 Oct. 1194], and for that reason he had delivered that will to the aforesaid Ralph de Herlham, &c. Afterwards Humphrey came and put himself at the King's mercy, &c.

[Humphrey of Havile or de Herlham was father of Miryld (Muriel), Jurnet's wife. See Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, iv. 510. She escheated her lands for marrying him, and he was fined 6000 marks. See *Pipe Roll* item No. 67. It is perhaps worth while adding that the name of 'Gernutus the Jew,' (of Venice), about whom a ballad exists in Percy's *Reliques* giving the Shylock story, has been connected with Jurnettus.]

C. 1195.—The Fable of the Wolf and the Animals.

Mishle Shu'alim (Heb. 'Fox Fables') of Berachyah Hanakdan, No. 36.

The Wolf, the Lion's prince and peer, as the foe of all flesh did appear; greedy and grinding, he consumed all

he was finding. Birds and beasts, wild and tame, by their families urged to the same, brought against him before the Lion an accusation, as a monster worthy of detestation. Said His Majesty, 'If he uses his teeth as you say, and causes scandal in this terrible way, I'll punish him in such a way as to save his neck, if I may, and yet prevent you becoming his prey.' Said Lion to Wolf, 'Attend me to-morrow, see that you come, or you'll come to much sorrow.' He came, sure enough, and the Lion spoke to him harsh and rough. 'What by doing this do you mean? Never more raven the living, or live by ravening. What you shall eat shall be only dead meat. The living you shall neither trap nor hunt. And that you may my words obey swear me that you'll eat no flesh for two years from to-day, to atone for your sins, testified and seen: 'tis my judgment, you had better fulfil it, I ween.' Thereat the Wolf swore right away no flesh to eat for two years from that day. Off went Sir Wolf on his way, King Lion stopped at court on his throne so gay. Nothing that's fleshly for some time did our Wolf eat, for like a gentleman he knew how his word to keep. But then came a day when he was a hungered and he looked hither and thither for meat, and lo, a fat sheep fair to look on and goodly to eat (Gen. iii. 6). *Then to himself he said, 'Who can keep every law?' and his thoughts were bewildered with what he saw. He said to himself, 'It overcomes me the longing to eat, for two years day by day must I fast from meat. This is my oath to the king that I swore but I've thought how to fulfil it as never before. Three sixty-five are the days in a year. Night is when you close your eyes, open them, then the*

day is near.' His eyes he opens and closed straightway. It was evening and it was morning, one day (Gen. i. 6). *Thus he winked until he had numbered two years and his greed returned and his sin disappears. His eyes fix the goat* (sic) *they had seen and he said, 'See beforehand I have atoned for my sin,' and he seized the neck of the goat, broke it to pieces, and filled up his throat as he was wont to do before, and as of yore his hand was stretched out to the beasts, his peers, as it had been in former days and years.*

[This fable occurs in a work entitled *Mishle Shu'alim*, or 'Fox Fables,' written by one Berachyah ben Natıonai Crispia ha-Nakdan (the Punctuator or Massorite), whose date and facsimile have been hitherto unsettled by Jewish scholars. As regards his date this would be fixed by a colophon of his son Elijah dated at Rouen [or Dreux ?] Wednesday, 21 Marcheshwan, 4094. The year is wrong, as it corresponds to 333 A.D. Bibliographers (Wolf, Kennicott, Zunz, Steinschneider, Neubauer) have hitherto assumed that the thousand was given wrongly and the true date was 5094=1333. Against this late date is the fact that the Jews were expelled from France in 1301, and Elijah was therefore not likely to be in Normandy (Rouen or Dreux) in 1333. Besides this the 21 Marcheshwan, 5894, fell on Sunday, 31 Oct., 1333. whereas Elijah states he was writing on a Wednesday. I have therefore suggested that the true date was 4994, Elijah having omitted the hundreds, as was sometimes the custom with English Jews (see *supra* p. 77, where 800 is omitted, and *cf.* Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. xiii.) This suggestion is confirmed and checked by the fact that 21 Marcheshwan, 4994, fell upon *Wednesday*, 26 Oct., 1233, which we may accordingly take for the date of the colophon (*cf.* my letter in *Athenæum* 19 April, 1890). If Elijah, who styles himself the son of Berachyah's old age, was writing in 1233 he could scarcely have been born later than 1210, when Berachyah would be about 60, and was therefore born c. 1150. As regards Berachyah's place of resi-

dence many reasons combine, in my opinion, to locate Berachyah in England. His Fox Fables contain a number of Æsopic fables adapted in Hebrew rhymed prose (which I have imitated above), and besides there is a number of other fables similar to those which occur in the *Ysopet* of Marie de France, written before 1226 in England. These extra fables are said by Marie to be due to King Alfred. It has been proved indeed by Herr Mall that there did exist an English version of the Fables from which Marie translated, but these were in Middle English, not Anglo-Saxon. Some of the Fables of Marie are certainly derived, not from the mediæval Æsop (really Phædrus) but from Arabic sources. I have therefore suggested that Marie got her Fables from a translation from the Arabic made by one Alfred the Englishman mentioned by Roger Bacon as a translator (*Comp. Studii*, ed. Brewer, p. 471). Berachyah's versions must either have been got from Marie or from this Alfred.* That they were not derived from Marie is proved by the fact that he has only half of his 112 fables in common with her, and besides the Eastern ones which he has in common with her are nearer the original Arabic than hers. The above example is a specimen of this. Its Arabic original is not known, but there can be little doubt that is was derived from India, where it occurs in a Buddhist Jataka (*Vaka J.*, ed. Fausbôll, No. 300, translated by Dr. Morris, *Folk Lore Journ.* iii. 359), the substance of which is sufficiently indicated by its *gatha* or 'moral.'

A wolf who lived by others' need
And ate their flesh and blood
Did make a vow to keep a fast
And holy day observe.

But Indra soon did note his vow,
A goat's form he assumed,
The murderous wolf his vow forsook
And tried the goat to seize.

* There are also Latin versions of Marie, but these are scarcely likely to have been made before 1233, when Elijah refers to his father's Fables. Besides they do not contain all Berachyah's fables and make a ludicrous mistake about the *Mouse-Maiden*, from which Berachyah is free.

Now there is a curious vacillation in Berachyah's version between sheep and goat as the victim, whereas Marie de France in her version (73) knows nothing of a goat, but speaks of the wolf meeting a sheep. Besides she gives a Christian turn to the whole story by making the wolf keep Lent; on meeting the sheep he pretends to mistake it for a salmon, and refusing to be convinced of his mistake makes a fish dinner off mutton. Berachyah's version was clearly not taken from Marie's, and must therefore have been from Alfred or from his Arabic source. Now Alfred's Æsop is not known outside England, and thus merely on grounds of the literary history of the fable we are forced to locate Berachyah in England. Alfred was himself in England, as he dedicates one of his works to Roger de Herford (fl. 1170). And if Alfred and Berachyah were both in England together it is likely enough that Berachyah assisted Alfred to translate from the Arabic, as Andrew the Jew did for Michael Scott according to Bacon's account (*l.c.*), who adds 'And so for the rest,' which may refer to Alfred. The facts of Jewish literature also agree with this. For the first mention of Berachyah occurs in the work of an English Jew, Moses ben Isaac, who must have died before 1215 (see *supra* p. 66). This work refers to another Nakdan or Punctuator, Samuel, and I have found both Berachyah and Samuel referred to in the English records with the epithet 'Pointur' or 'Puncteur' in the Nottingham Tallage Roll. I therefore identify Berachyah Nakdan with Benedict le Puncteur of Oxford, who thus becomes the most important English Jew in medieval Jewish literature, for which reason I give him so much space in this book, especially as I may claim the merit of having identified him. On the whole question see my edition of Æsop, i. pp. 167-78, and articles by Dr. Neubauer and myself in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April and July 1890, and see below for other works by Benedict.*]

* The whole question is now settled in favour of the above arguments by Dr. Neubauer's discovery of references to England in Berachyah' Introduction, for which see Addenda.

The Fable of the Fox, the Cart and the Fishes.

Berachyah Nakdan, *Fox Fables* (Heb.), No. 100.

The fox proceeded her way to go, of walking on the earth to and fro. Hither and thither turned her eye, till behold, a cart came rolling by. Fishes piled there from the sea aroused her soul's cupidity. Council took she with her mind a way to satisfy her desires to find. She laid herself out for dead, though nothing could be farther from her head. Full in front she stretched her paws as if she were indeed a corse struck suddenly or fallen on the King's highway. The carter raised his eyes, before him the Vixen lies, curled up and lying like clemmed. Her the carter took and lifted, for she neither moved nor shifted, and bore her to a sack and covered her up with that, so those should not, he thought, injure her who after her sought. Therefore he hid her beneath his clothes so that she should not be seen by those who ask of him whatever he knows. He covered her to keep her warm, poor thing, and with the fishes soon was she journeying. Then the fox the fishes began without mercy to eat, off them she made a dinner complete. Part had she eaten, part had she left, saying at first 'Eat some, some shall be left.' But soon 'I'll eat till I burst or I be full first.' She ate of the fishes till she was full, gnawed the sack till she was through, from the cart herself she threw, when they were near a rock she knew, wherein she hid herself beneath, with the prey she had between her teeth. The carter passed the cave hard by, nor saw where Vixen she did lie. . . . While she was hiding there in terror and dread and fear, a weary wolf came near, who had come that*

* In Hebrew the fox is always a vixen.

way in seeking for prey. Wolf lifts up his head and as comrade meets her and greets her. Vixen answers in likewise but is thinking of some device, of him to get rid and so to keep hid her prey and what she did. 'How are you,' says Sir Wolf, 'and whence the prey in your mouth.' The Fox answers with a voice pitched high and full of cunning and duplicity. 'I am well and all the better for hearing your voice, and at seeing you I much rejoice. Behold to the water I went, 'twas frozen to ice, like a strong runner I made a run and in the ice a hole I made one, wherein my tail I laid an hour about and the fishes came thereabout as if it was an angler's bait and I caught them like a net, and of them made my prey, ate my full and come away. Go and do as I for I see you have nought and am certain you have nothing caught. To comfort your weary soul take one of these and eat it whole.' Sorely tempted was the Wolf our friend, but thanking him thus brought their talk to an end. 'Keep thine to thee, nor for thee I'll trust my tail in a hole for the worse, lest the water come upon me for a malediction and a curse.' Still the wolf ran to the river, which was frozen all over by the frost of the night and saw a hole dug by the shepherds in the preceding daylight, to have water to drink as they stood by its brink. To himself said he, 'To suspect I'm too ready: 'Twas surely a sin to suspect the Vixen, for she did not lie, truth spoke she, her hands dealt faithfully: there's the water, to be sure, and there's, in truth, the aperture.' In the hole he inserted his tail and his back down he laid till the fishes might come, as the fox had said. The sun arose and the frost grows till his tail in the water was stuck. A merry heart the wolf

now had for in his inmost thoughts he was glad; he said 'My tail is heavy, I know, and eke my seat also, but pleasanter far than heaps of gold if of all the fish of the lake I've got hold. Now I must be bold and much will win though I fear that strangers will let me in.' Then boldly he tried to rise from his seat but the frost prevented him getting to his feet and he felt much pain about his tail which he pulled and pulled but 'twas of no avail. Then with a loud and bitter cry cried he, since he could not rise to his feet and was frozen to the knee. The shepherds heard his cry and came up wondering why; soon the dogs came up, every cur and pup. . . Archers brought up their quivers too, and round about him the arrows flew. . . At last the ice gave a crack, off went he without looking back like the wind he fled to hide his head. No breath had he to spare lest the swift dogs should track him to his lair. . .

[This is another of Benedict of Oxford's 'Fox Fables,' the doggrel of which I have endeavoured to imitate in my version. It contains two of the chief incidents of the cycle of Reynard the Fox, the Fox and Cart and the iced Wolf's tail. For the former it is by far the earliest literary source and taking other things into consideration it is likely that an Eastern source may be found for the whole cycle, while the earliest appearance in mediæval literature for one of the chief episodes is thus vindicated for England. I shall probably soon have an opportunity elsewhere of pointing out the significance of the Fables of Benedict for the whole literary history of the Reynard cycle.]

C. 1195.—Benedict of Oxford's "Morals."

Berachyah Nakdan *ap.* Zunz, *Zur Gesch.* (from Heb.).

Prefer one in hand to two in hope: a little certainty is better than a great perhaps. Sooner a servant among the

noble than leader among the common: for some of their honour will stick to you while you must share the contempt of your contemptible followers. If you pursue after power and might, they fly before you; regard yourself as only a passing guest in this world and honour and riches will come of themselves.

Most men despise those who deserve more honour than they: they wish evil to the good and only come to him when they need him. . . .

The proud cedar is felled, the lowly bush is untouched: fire rises and dies away; water flows down and for ever. If for what beauty or riches you have you raise your head above neighbour or brother, you feed hateful envy, and the beggar whom you despise may yet triumph over you.

Who stands by his honour would sooner die than set a price on it: better enough in freedom than plenty at the table of another.

Love thy children with impartial love: the hope oft errs that you place on the more promising, and all your joy may come from him that you have kept in the background.

[These are a selection from the morals attached to Berachyah's 'Fox Fables': it is, however, uncertain how far they are his or are derived from his Arabic or French originals. Berachyah was the author of a special treatise on ethics still extant in MSS. at Munich and Parma. The treatise termed *Matzref* is divided into thirteen chapters; i. Introduction, ii. Lust, iii. Affection, iv. Restraint of the Will, v. Justice, vi. Misfortune, vii. Poverty, viii. Honour, ix. Position, x. Rank, xi. Soul, xii. Hope, xiii. Immortality. In it he quotes R. Abraham ibn David (†1180) without the formula for the dead, so that it is likely enough the book was composed before 1180. He does not quote Maimonides' great work 'The Guide of the Perplexed,' finished in 1191, known in Provence shortly after that date and in North France about 1204.]

1195-7.—Jewish Transactions.

Pipe Rolls, 6-8, Ric. I.

140.—The heirs of Mosse le Riche, Jew of Gloucester, owe 300 marks to have the debts of the aforesaid Mosse. 6 Ric. I., Glouc.

141.—Mosse son of Abraham owes half a mark because Jornet was not prosecuted. Jornet the Jew renders count of one mark for a false charge. Solomon son of Cresselin owes 3s. 4d. because Jornet was not prosecuted. Abraham son of Master Moss renders count of 3s. 4d. for the same. 6 Ric. I., Sudhant.

["Master" probably means physician. Now we know that Moses ben Yomtob, the master of Moses ben Isaac was called Magister Mosse, for his son Eliahu ben Moses ben Yomtob is called 'Magister Elias fil Magistri Mosse.' It is therefore probable that this Magister Mosse was the Moses ben Yomtob who wrote the Massoretic rules attached to all editions of the Rabbinic Bible. For a London son-in-law see *supra* p. 89.]

142.—The citizens of Lincoln ought to reply about their amerciaments which are demanded from them for assaults on the Jews according to what is contained on the roll of the preceding year. For which they have not responded because they have not yet come to the account to be paid thereon. 6 Ric. I., Linc.

143.—Benedict Pernaz, Jew of Lincoln, owes £12 for William of Olingchen of the aforesaid debt of Aaron which he has confessed in presence of the Barons he ought to pay for him. 6. Ric. I., Linc.

[Pernaz=*Parnass* (Heb.), the name still used for the President of the Congregation. For another transaction of Benedict's see *infra* p. 188 *seq.*]

144.—Deulecresse son of Benjamin owes 50s. for Benedict son of Deudone which the same Benedict owes the King for the debts which he exacted from the said Deulecresse. 6 Ric. I., Oxinf.

145.—Leo, Jew of Gloucester, owes 20 marks for that he was accused of being of the society of Outlaws. 7 Ric. I., 13, Glouc. (M i. 229).

146.—Deulesalt, Jew, owes 60 marks that he may have respite till the coming of the King of the plea concerning the charter of Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, which the said Deulesalt was said to have concealed. 7 Ric., I., Lond. and Middl.

147—Judas son of Deudone owes 20s. for having right to 40s. against Copin son of Belia. 8 Ric. I., Essex.

[The King's share of a debt seems greater when Jew owes to Jew. Qy. because it was illegal according to Jewish law? *Cf.* No. 128]

148.—. . . Jew owes 3 ounces of gold for a stupid saying (*pro absurdo dicto*). 8 Ric. I., Nordf.

1194-9.—Early Lawsuits.

Rotuli Curiæ Regis, ed. Palgrave, i. 9, 16, 34, 79.

(*a*) Kent. ¶ A day is fixed for the men of Westgate and the men of Canterbury for the plea of the chaplain of Hakenton, and for the plea of the Jew and of Garcon, in custody for forgery and for the

plea that applies to them on the morrow of St. Andrew's at Westminster. [10 Oct., 1194].

[Garcon may possibly be a Jewish name.]

(*b*) Suffolk. ¶ These are sureties of William and Galfred and Gilbert, sons of Peter of Melling, to have them for justice, if any wish to speak against them, for the death of the Jews of Colchester=Peter their father and Adam de Cokesfeld, Robert de Hulm, Hervey de Thisteldon, Hervey of Gedding, Robert de Mungedene, Galfred de Nerewford, and Baldwin of Thisteldon, and William son of Richard of Brumton also pledge themselves for the same. And William son of Richard finds sureties for the same William son of Fulkon and William de Colville and Ivon de Keneton. [27 Oct., 1194.]

[This is the only reference we have to any attack on the Jews at Colchester. Was it during the general riots of 1190?]

(*c*) Norfolk. ¶ A day is fixed for Roger de Straton for a plea as to the rights about the death of the Jews on the octaves of St. Andrew at Westminster. [6 Nov., 1194.]

[This and the preceding are probably due to the inquiries made into the riots of 1190 when Richard returned. Cf. *supra* p. 157.]

(*d*) London. ¶ A day is fixed for Chermin the Jew and Samson brother of Brin, for the plea by duel on the octaves of St. Hilary, &c. Let them come prepared for that duel at Totelle. [28 Nov., 1194.]

[We shall later on meet with still another case of a duel. On the Continent it was also not unusual for Jews to fight duels. See Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*

(*e*) Cambridge. ¶ Richard de Munfichet *v.* the Jews of Cambridge about the service of the lord Duke on the plea of the debt for William de la Haye, John the Frenchman. . . . [9 May, 1199.]

1197-1202.—Peter the Jew becomes a London Landowner.

Hist. MSS. Com., ix. pp. 14, 22.

(*a*) Grant by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to Peter Blund, a Jew, and Miriam his wife, and their heirs for ever, of land in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry for a rent of 13s. a year and a fine of 2 marks. Witnesses: Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's; Master Alard, Archdeacon of London, &c.

(*b*) Grant by Roger son of William Fitz-Isabel to Peter Blundus, Jew of London, of a quit-rent which William Novensis used to render for land which William the son of Turstan held in the parish of St. Nicholas, at the corner of Fish Street, opposite to the front of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, and also a shop in Fish Street. Witnesses: William de Haverilla, Thomas his son, John Borninte, James, Alderman, Walter Brune, and William Comerarius, then Sheriffs of London, Roger de Desert, Arnold Fitz Aluf, Michael son of John, Richard his son, Abraham son of Avig[ay], Abraham son of Brune, Isaac son of Margal[icia], Fleming the Jew. A.D. 1202.]

C. 1197.—The Abbey of Meaux takes up Debts to Jews.

Burton. *Chron. de Melsa*, ed. Bond, i. 306, 315.

And William de Arcyns sold us three bovates of

land in Seton for 40 marks, which we gave him for clearing him of debts to the Jews. . . . . And Hugh of Bolton and Cecilia his wife, daughter of Geoffrey Darill, sold us a messuage of 5 tofts and 5 bovates of land at Wartrey for 50 marks, for which that land was pledged to the Jews for the debts of the aforesaid Walter.

[We have here a specimen of the way in which the larger monasteries, as well as the King, made use of Jewish usury by getting into their possession lands of nobles indebted to the Jews. Walter Map is very severe on the Cistercians for this, in his *De Nugis*. Geoffrey Darell was doubtless related to Marmaduke Darell, who is mentioned by the same chronicler (i. 251) as one of the leaders in the York massacre. Another instance of the pressure of debts being the real cause of that event.]

Bef. 1198.—Learned daughters of a learned father. *Tos. Talmud Ber.* 25*b* (Heb.).

The daughters of R. Abraham, the father-in-law of Sir Leon of Paris, used to make an assembly of three to make certain benedictions, but this is against the usual custom.

[Some benedictions can only be pronounced if three are present, and this is taken to imply three males. R. Abraham's three daughters extended it to themselves. One of them married Sir Leon, whom I identify with Leo Blund of the English records.]

We must not eat what a Gentile boils. But R. Abraham says this is only when he boils it in his own house: if he does so in a Jew's house, we may eat it.

[I have identified this R. Abraham with the 'Abraham fil Rabi joce' of the English records. The restrictions on using food prepared by Gentiles were in order to insure exact compliance with Talmudic and Mosaic law, but they had the effect of preventing any close communion between Jew and Gentile.]

Bef. 1198.—Against the Perfidy of the Jews.*

Peter Blesensis, *Op. ed. Giles,* iii. 62, seq.

Ch. I.—*Preface in which he shows that disputation with Jews and heretics is difficult and dangerous.*

You have made long and anxious complaint in your letters that surrounded by Jews and heretics you are attacked by them and have not ready the authorities in the sacred Scripture by which you can refute their calumnies and answer their cunning sleights. It is right, says the Apostle, that there should be heresies and schisms so that those who have been proved may be made manifest. Wherefore life is allowed to the Jews of to-day, because they are our treasurers while they confirm the prophecies on our faith and the law of Moses. We read the Passion of Christ, not alone in their books but in their faces. . . . As for what you say that you desire to dispute with Jews so as to convert them and turn them to the faith, I commend you the less for that for you beat the air, exhausting yourself with foolish and vain zeal. God indeed has placed a limit to them which they may not exceed. Their hour is not yet come, but He has blinded them till the time when the heathen are converted to the Faith. Hence it is what is said by Isaiah "Go and blind the heart of this people, &c." For when one of them receives the Faith the rest still persevere in their obstinacy. It remains therefore that the multitude of the heathen shall enter into the Faith, and then the remnant of

* A treatise addressed to John Bishop of Worcester, probably John of Coutances who held that See, 1194-8.

Israel shall be His. It seems to me wiser for our Faith to conceal the injury done to it for the time rather than enter into discussion with a people stiff-necked and of a stubbornness truly bestial. . . But because you complain bitterly that you are beset by Jews and heretics and have naught at hand by which you can evade their machinations, I will not keep back from you what I know.

Ch. II.—Testimony of the Law and the Prophets of the Trinity and Unity in God.

III.—Testimony of Law and Prophets on the Father and the Son.

IV.—Testimony of the Holy Ghost.

V.—Testimony of the Trinity.

VI.—Reasons and authorities for the faith in the Holy Trinity.

VII.—Testimony of the Prophets that the Son was sent by the Father.

VIII.—Testimony that Christ came in the flesh.

IX.—Testimony that Christ was born of David.

X.—Testimony that Christ was born of the nations.

XI.—That Christ came in his own person.

XII.—That Christ was God and man of the seed of Abraham.

XIII.—Testimonies of the time and place of the birth of Christ.

XIV.—That the desires of the prophets were fulfilled by Christ.

XV.—Testimony that Christ was to come in humility.

XVI.—Testimony of the Prophets in reprobation of the legal sacrifices.

XVII.—Testimony to the Passion of Christ.

XVIII.—Testimony to the burial of the Lord.

XIX.—Testimony to the Resurrection of Christ.

XXI.—Testimony to the Resurrection of the Lord.

XXII.—Testimony to the mission of the Holy Ghost.

XXIII.—Testimony of Jewish and heathen histories to the Resurrection.

XXIV.—Testimony of Josephus the Jew to Christ.

XXV.—Testimony that the new covenant was preferred to the old Law.

XXVI.—Testimony on Baptism.

XXVII.—On the sacrament of the Altar.

XXVIII.—Of the transference of the law to the Gentiles and the reprobation of the Jews.

XXIX.—Of the calling of the heathen to the Faith.

XXX.—Testimony of the Prophets that the remnant of Israel shall be convicted and saved.

XXXI.—Testimony on the glorious State of the Church.

XXXII.—Manifold authorities that the Scriptures cannot be understood literally.

XXXIII.—Testimony to the coming of Anti-Christ.

XXXIV.—Testimony to the final coming of Christ at the general resurrection.

XXXV.—Testimony to the Day of Judgment.

XXXVI.—Testimony to the glorification of the Saints.

XXXVII.—Testimony to the damnation of the wicked.

XXXVIII.—Testimony of the Heathen to the Faith [Virgil, Sibyls].

Conclusion of the Work.—You have thus arms sent you for the defence of the Faith, use them warily. For the Jew is always inconstant and shifty. Now he says Yes, anon he says No, at one time he quibbles about the literal meaning, at another he refers all to the times of his own Messiah, *i.e.* of the Antichrist, and after the manner of his father the devil often changes into monstrous shapes. If therefore you wish to catch him and destroy his shifts, place the library of the Spirit between you so that he cannot escape or turn tail but must be slain like Goliath with his own sword.

[The above table of contents of Peter of Blois' treatise *Contra Perfidiam Judæorum* will give some idea of the usual topics and tactics adopted in Christian disputes with Jews. The contrast of tone between the twelfth and eleventh centuries is marked. *Cf. supra*, p. 7 *seq.* The Church had lost hope of conversion. There is also a third treatise *Altercatio Judæi cum Christiani* addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, c. 1130 (Loeb, *Controverse religieuse* 18n.).]

1198.—Jews and the Treasury.

**Pipe Rolls*, 9 Ric 1.

150.—Deulecresse and Judas his brother owe 40s. for bail for their mother. 9 Ric. I., Sudhants.

[This is included among 'Aaron's Debts:' why, I know not.]

151.—Abraham, Jew of Winchester, owes 40 marks that he may be bailed out (replevied). 9 Ric. I., Sudhants.

152.—Abraham son of Aaron owes 3 ounces of

gold for having his rights of 13 marks and 4s. against Elyas his brother. 9 Ric. I., Linc.

153.—Peter Blund, Jew of London, owes 40s. for having his rights against Rodulph son of William of the debts of his father of 100s. and against Will. Puntiel the guardian of the land and heir of Roger of Crokeslea of a debt of the said Roger of £10. 9 Ric. I., London.

[Peter Blund and his wife Miriam are mentioned in a document at St. Paul's as obtaining a quitrent of land at the corner of Fish Street. *Cf. supra*, p. 177.]

156.—Josce son of Isaac owes 2 marks for having his rights to £13 against Roger of the Dead Sea. Mosse of Cambridge owes 20s. for having right to a debt of £10 10s. 0d. against Galfred de Caxton. 9 Ric. I., Lond.

[The names of the Christian debtors are the chief interest here. Is the latter the first known Caxton? It is possible that Mosse of Cambridge was Moses ben Isaac, the author of the *Onyx Book*.]

157.—Ysaac, Jew, owes 1 mark for his oath. Sabecoc, Jew, renders count of 1 mark for his oath. 9 Ric. I., Hereford in Wales.

158.— . . . son of Isaac owes 3 ounces of gold to have his rights against the heirs of Benedict of Chichester and Yvelin of the mortgage of John of Tusgos. Alfild who was [wife of] Isaac owes 5 marks for having right of 10 marks against Nichol son of Ysaac. Solomon, Jew of Arundel, owes 2 marks for right to £12 against John of Cumb. 9 Ric. I.. Sudsex.

[Alfild seems a very Saxon name for a Jew's wife.]

159.— Tallage of burgesses and manors of the

King. Joseph Aaron owes 7s. 4d. of the balance of £40 which he received from the Sheriff of Worcester on which he rendered count in the roll of the seventh year. 9 Ric. I., Glouc.

[Joseph Aaron was afterwards one of the Justices of the Jews, see No. 164*a*. Here again we have a case of a Jew receiving the cash balance of the Sheriff's account. *Cf.* Nos. 11, 12, 30.]

160.—Abraham, Jew of Lincoln, son of Aaron, owes one ounce of gold to have a writ for justicing Tom son of Godwin and John his brother for a debt which they owe him. Jacob the old man of Lincoln owes 2 ounces of gold to have a record of the county of Lincoln on the appeal which Benedict of the Bail and Mosse his son made against him and his fellows in the same county. 9 Ric. I., Linc.

161.—Gentilia the Jewess, daughter of Samson, owes 4 ounces of gold to have an inquest whether her father died a Jew or a Christian and to have his charters. 9 Ric. 1., Everwick.

[Jews seem to be coming back to York. Or does the entry refer to the death of Samson at the York massacre when many Jews offered to be baptized ?]

162.—Benedict of Rising owes 20 marks to have a reasonable part of the chattels and debts of Benedict son of Josce Sorel. 9 Ric. I. Glouc.

[The entry is repeated next year.]

c. 1198.—Laws of the Church about the Jews.

Corpus Juris Canonici. Decretal V. vi., ed. Friedeberg II. cc. 771-8.

Book V. Title vi. Of Jews, Saracens, and their slaves.

C. I.—If a slave, bought by a Jew, becomes or

desires to become a Christian, for trading purposes, he is redeemed for 12 pence [A.D. 581].

C. II.—A Jew cannot have a Christian for a slave but he can for a churl [594].

C. III.—Jews may keep their old synagogues, may not erect new ones [598].

C. IV.—On Good Friday Jews may not keep their doors or windows open [1169-81].

C. V.—Christians ought to be excommunicated who serve Jews in their houses. And secular princes ought to be excommunicated who spoil baptised Jews of their goods [1179].

C. VII.—Jews may restore their synagogues to their former state, but may not build them up afresh [1179-81].

C. VIII.—Christians ought not to be in the family service of Jews [1159-81].

C. IX.—Jews are not to be baptized against their will nor forced to it, nor to be condemned without judgment, nor to be spoiled of their goods nor disturbed at their festivals, nor are their cemeteries to be molested or their bodies to be exhumed. [1187-91.]

C. XIII.—Jews ought not to have Christian nurses or servants, those doing contrary are to be interdicted from commerce with Christians.

C. XIV.—A Jew who strikes a priest is punished by the temporal power, and, if he cannot be, he is interdicted from commerce with Christian men till he has given satisfaction for the injury.

[Cc. XV.-XIX. are added from the Lateran Council of 1215 and do not therefore come within the present period. Contrasting

these with those on pp. 15 and 62 we observe a tendency to restrict intercourse by preventing Christian servants in Jewish houses. The fear of conversion to Judaism had increased during the century.]

1198.—Innocent III. to all Christian Princes.

Corpus Juris Canonicii, II. p. 814.

We command that Jews be compelled to remit usury to Christians by you, sons of princes and secular powers. And till they remit it them we command that all communion in any way be denied them [the Jews] by all faithful Christians, both in commerce and in other things on sentence of excommunication. Given at Reatu, 18 Kal. Sept. 1198.

[Pope Innocent in later years considerably widened the gulf between Jews and Christians by various enactments. In the present instance, the ordinance was probably as much directed against the Christian princes as against the Jews, for the former really benefited in the long run by Jewish usury as we have had reason to see throughout this book].

c. 1198.—There were Jews in Cornwall.

Liber Rubeus, quoted by Sir H. de la Beche, *Geology of Cornwall*, p. 633.

Also neither man nor woman, Christian nor Jew, shall presume to buy or sell any tin of the first smelting, nor to give or remove any of the first smelting from the Stannary or out of the place appointed for weighing and stamping, until it shall be weighed and stamped in the presence of the keepers and clerks of the weight and stamp of the farm.

Also neither man nor woman, Christian nor Jew, shall presume, in the Stannaries nor out of the Stan-

naries, to have in his or her possession any tin of the first smelting beyond a fortnight unless it be weighed and stamped.

Also neither man nor woman, Christian nor Jew, in market towns and boroughs, on sea or on land, shall presume to keep beyond thirteen weeks tin of the first smelting weighed and stamped, unless it be put into the second smelting and the mark discharged.

Also neither man nor woman, Christian nor Jew, shall presume in any manner to remove tin either by sea or by land, out of the counties of Devon and Cornwall unless he or she have the licence of the Chief Warder of the Stannaries.

[This is a quotation of the *Liber Rubeus* of the Treasury from the *Capitula de Stannatoribus*, 9 Ric. I. It proves the existence of Jews in Cornwall and makes it probable that the "Jews' tin" and "Jews' houses" * connected with Cornwall of to-day preserve some traces of the Jewish buyers and storehouses of tin referred to in the above ordinance. It is possible that the presence of Jews in Cornwall may have given rise to the place-name Market Jew, for the latter is similar enough to Marghas Edhow ("Jew mart" in Cornish) to stand for its modern equivalent. And it is noteworthy that the folk etymology which connected itself in early times with the place connected the name with "Thursdaies market" (*Marhas diow*), and not with Jews at all, so that the folk etymology could not have given rise to the tradition. Pro[f.] M. Müller ("Are there Jews in Cornwall?" *Chips*, iii. 299-3[20] certainly pushes his etymologising propensities too far in [sug]gesting (*ib.* 310) that the name Market Jew gave rise [to] tradition of the existence of Jews in Cornwall. This [is] ciently proved by the above quotation which should

* Prof. Müller's derivation from Dshyi-houses=house-[of]-iii. 320) is about the most improbable piece of etymologis[ing] has ventured on.

Bef. 1200.—Decisions of R. Menachem of London.*

* Halberstamm, MS. No. 345, ff 40*a*, 43*a*, 71*b*, 77*a*.

The case came before R. Perez concerning a divorce given by one whose name had been changed when he was thought to be in articulo mortis,† *and they called him by the new first name henceforth. The Rabbi decided that two bills of divorce should be written, one with the old first name and the other with the new, and the two were to be given to the woman simultaneously. I found it written in an exposition* [Midrash] *of R. Menachem of London that it is necessary to write the two names, for we find it with Jacob, of whom it is written in the Law: "And thy name shall no more be called Jacob but Israel," and yet one finds him called Jacob several times in the Law.*

R. Joseph says that if a man alleges that his wife has sinned, she is still pure to him,‡ considering the Rescript of R. Gershom [1000 A.D.] *not to marry two wives, for he may have cast his eyes on another woman* [and he cannot marry her without divorcing the other as he could before R. Gershom abolished polygamy]. *A certain woman came to ask penance before R. Menachem of London because she had committed adultery. He replied that since she had come to fulfil her obligations towards heaven, she must swear in the most solemn manner that*

* Kindly transcribed and translated by Mr. I. Abrahams.

† It is a Jewish custom to change a man's name when *in articulo mortis*, in the hope that the Angel of Death will not recognise him under the altered name.

‡ When the European Jews still practised polygamy a Jew was obliged to give a divorce to his wife if he accused her of adultery.

she had not set her heart on another man. If she took this oath she was to be divorced, as she had come to confession, but she was not to receive her settlement.

[Every Jewish wife has a certain settlement, *Kethuka*, mentioned in the marriage contract. If divorced she receives it, and as a widow it is the first charge on the estate.]

The general rule for the Sabbatical year according to R. Menachem, of London. Even if a man does not know the year of the Destruction of the Temple and the year of the [Seleucid] *era.* [Elaborate rule follows for finding the Sabbatical year.] *And with this reckoning R. Chananel and Rashbam and Rabbi Isaac agree.*

A case happened of a Jew who borrowed a horse from his neighbour and gave it to a Gentile to ride upon, and the horse was lost. Then the loser was to pay the full value. Such a case came before R. Menachem, of London, and was thus decided.

Bef. 1200.—R. Moses of London on the Passover Service.

R. Jehuda b. Jacob of London *Etz Chayim* ap. *Jew. Quart. Rev.* iv. 551, 553, 557.

"*Charoseth*" *is not mentioned in the words of the Scribes as a memorial of the mortar* [out of which the Jews made bricks in Egypt], *and this is how it is made. He takes some dates or figs or raisins and crushes them, and puts in them vinegar and makes them into a paste like mortar.* . . . [It is disputed whether the paste is to be made thick or thin.] *But R. M. of London was of opinion that he makes it thick at the*

in the same names, and a third charter of £110 without cyrograph in the same names, and a fourth of £50 principal without cyrograph in the same names: And a writ of acquittance which the same Benedict made me of the debt of the aforesaid Hugh. And when I shall have paid the aforesaid B. or his heirs the said charter before the Justiciars, the aforesaid land of Witham will be quits and free from the aforesaid B. and his heirs unless we shall have paid the aforesaid debt before. This convention I have made oath of, to keep to him and his heirs, for me and my heirs. But this convention was made in the King's Court at Westminster before Galfred fil Peter and Philip, Bishop of Durham, and Simon de Pateshull, and Henry de Winchester, and Benedict, Jew of Talemunt. *Pipe Roll*, 10 Ric. I., Cantebrig. et Hunt.

[It is somewhat difficult to get to the root of this transaction. Richard of Stanford is clearly settling the estate of Hugo de Bayeux, his father-in-law, deceased. The chief lien on the property is the deceased's debts to Benedict Pernaz. (*Parnass*, Heb. = Warden of Congregation). The above appears to be a fine made to get rid of the accretion of usury. For the 100 marks of gold=600 marks silver, which again is less by 80 marks than 220 + 165 (£110) + 80 + 75 (£50) + 140 marks mentioned [illegible] various parts of the deed. Now of these it appears that 140 [illegible] been paid off, and it was doubtless on consideration of this [illegible] the interest is reduced to such a comparatively small [illegible]t as 10 per cent. I suspect, too, that what was originally [illegible]l was 220, and the remaining charters are for usury in [illegible]t is noteworthy that some of the deeds are with [illegible] duplicate and some without. The latter seem ex[illegible]nds, the cyrograph deeds in marks.]

1199.—Early Lawsuits.*

Rotuli Curiæ Regis.

(f) Cambridge ¶ Assize to determine whether Alan de Berton had unjustly and without warrant disseisined the Master of the Lepers of Steresbury of his free tenement in Cumberton. At the assize Alan says that the assize ought not to be brought against him because he claimed nothing from that land except a rent of 10s. a year payable at proper terms through Judas and Abraham and Samuel, Jews of Cambridge, whose mortgage that land is. They come and warrant this. The jury say that in this way he has disseisined them. Let the Jews have seisin and Alan is at mercy, 20s. shillings and damages 20 shillings [27 Oct. 1199].

(g) Dorset ¶ Richard de Straton sues John Lancelevee a debt of £20 and 12 marks of which the said John ought to have acquitted him to a certain Jew, viz. . . . son of Mosse de Wallingford† as he has said. John comes and defends the debt and says that he has acquitted him to that Jew and has the Jew's charter thereon, as he says. Afterwards Richard confessed that John had cleared him of £21 to the Jews and owed him 12 marks. John says that he had cleared him entirely. And so in presence

* There is another item about a debt due to Samuel of [illegible] i. p. 289, and one about lands of Ford Abbey pledged [illegible] Jews, *ib.* 339.

† Mentioned above (p. 68) in connection with the [illegible] St. Fredeswide. Unfortunately the name of the [illegible] in the MS.

Osbert fil Henry, the Justiciar, and others he made fine in the court of the lord the King and appeals against him, and an agreement is entered on the rolls that John gives the said Richard 6 marks on condition that Richard quit claims him of all debts he owed him.

[These extracts from the Rolls of the King's Court, and the others above, p. 175, do not deal with Jewish law suits strictly so called, but with cases in which something about Jews occurs. The reason for this is twofold. Cases between Jews were determined by the Jews themselves (*Cf. P. R. Items*, 20, 75, 128). And commercial cases between Jew and Christian were probably being decided at the time of the above (1199) by the Exchequer of the Jews, which was already in full working order. There would probably have been more law suits in the records if any earlier roll of the King's Court were extant, before the Exchequer of the Jews had taken over part of its work.]

1199-1200.—The Exchequer of the Jews.

* *Pipe Rolls*, 10 Ric. I., 1 Jo.

163.—And Aaron the Jew of Lincoln owes 500 marks as is contained there [roll 8]. But Benedict de Tallemunt answers for this in his accounts. 10 Ric. I., 12a.

[Benedict was a justiciar of the Exchequer of the Jews.]

163*a*.—Fulbert of Doura owes one mark that it be inscribed in the Great Roll that he is quits of e debts which John of Doura, his father, owed undermentioned Jews, viz., Hakelin, son of Norwiz, and his heirs for 20 marks, Avegay s for £20, Muriel of London for 100s. part of the debt of Abraham fil Rabi),

likewise the said Muriel and Samuel Multein for 35 marks, Benedict Quatrebuches for £50 [and others], as the said Jews have acknowledged before the Barons of the Exchequer. 10 Ric. I., Hereford [Madox, 171].

164.—Robert de Braiboc renders count of 10 marks of the farm of Bitebroc. In the treasury nothing. And by payments to the said Robert 10 marks by King's writ because it was recorded by Simon de Pateshull and Benedict [Jew] of Tallemunt, Wardens of the Jews, that Richard, miles of Bitebroc, who had pledged the said land of Bitebroc to Samuel of Stanford, had made fine with the aforesaid Simon and Benedict in the past year by 15 marks (for which the said Benedict has to answer) that his account may be audited to see whether he be quit of his debt, namely of 50 marks for which he had pledged the said land to the Jew before-mentioned by means of money received from the aforesaid pledge from the time when it was pledged. And the account being made before the aforesaid and others it was adjudged that the said Richard should be quit because, as the above-mentioned declared, more than the fifty marks had been received from the said pledge, that is from the time of King Henry up to the time of the said account, and as the said Richard was quits with the said pledge last year and the said Robert has the said pledge this year and is thus quits. 1[illegible] I., 8 Roteland.

[The debt must have fallen into the hands of the [illegible] Ric. I, by the death of Samuel (*vide supra*, No. 95) lands were pledged to Aaron of Lincoln for £10[illegible]

interest, in 1179, see *supra*, p. 66. Aaron must have sold the debt to Samuel before his death or it would have come into the King's hands. The justiciars of the Jewish Exchequer are the first mentioned; it appears, however, that there were two others, Henry de Winchester and Joseph Aaron the Jew (Madox, 745).]

164*a*.—Roger, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and the convent of the said place owe 2 marks of gold that it may be written on the Great Roll, that inquiry was made by Simon de Pateshull and Henry de Winchester and Benedict de Talemunt and Joseph Aaron, by command of Galfred Fitz Peter, the King's Justiciar, throughout the places which the Jews inhabit and among the Jews that the aforesaid Abbot and convent were in nought bound to pay anything to any Jew neither for themselves nor for any other Abbot who preceded the aforesaid Abbot on the day on which this was written, viz., Tuesday next after the feast of St. Nicholas in the tenth year. 10 Ric. I., Chent.

[This would act as a bar to all future claims of a date preceding this entry. All four Justiciars of the Jews are mentioned, and it is implied that they were under the orders of the King's Justiciar. The public announcement throughout the Jewry was made, in the thirteenth century, in the synagogues.]

165.—The Jews who are noted in the Roll of the ceding year under the title "Of the debts o n fined by the Chancellor" owe £136. 10 R rf.

—Jurnet, Jew of Norwich, and the other Je noted in the Roll of the preceding ye title "Offerings of the Jews of the time " owe £4432 7s. 11d. for the reaso

that are noted there. And besides Abraham son of Rabbi owes 4 horns of which the fourth equals the other three. But B. de Talemunt answers for this in his account. 10 Ric. I., Lond.

167.—Avigay the Jewess and other Jews who are noted under the title "Arrears of the tallage of the Jews of London at Guildford," owe £3122 7s. 2d. for the arrears that are noted in the preceding Roll. But B. de Talemunt answers for this in his account. The Jews that are noted under the title "Of the offerings of the Jews by Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury," owe £9 and 15 bezants as are noted in the preceding Roll. But B. de Talemunt answers thereon in his account. 10 Ric. I., Lond.

168.—Samuel of Bungay and other Jews that are noted in the preceding Roll owe £37 6s. 8d. 10 Ric. I, Nordf. and Suff.

[Similarly Jews of Cambridge owe 19 marks, of Worcester 30 marks. These and the preceding entries are the beginning of a separation of accounts between the Great and the Jews' Exchequer. Benedict de Talemunt, a Jew, was one of the Justiciars or Wardens of the Jews and began this year to take over the Jewish debts from the Great Roll to a separate account.]

169.—And in guarding the bringing to Westminste[r] of the moneys collected from the debtors of the Je[ws] together with the Jews appointed for this by Ben[edict] de Talemunt, 10s. by King's writ. 1 Joh., No[rf.]

170.—Thomas de Eton owes £40 and one [cup] worth 7 marks for the debts of Benedict a[nd] Jews of York because it is an escheat of [the] 1 Jo., Everwick *(Brit. Mus. Add. MS.,*

[These were the two Jews at the head of the York community, 1 Ric. I., *cf.* Will. of Newbury, *sub anno*. The King did not lose by the massacre but he did by the destruction of documents in the Cathedral afterwards. Some escaped destruction as Thomas of Eton finds here to his cost.]

171.—Jacob, Jew of Northampton, renders count of 300 marks to have his debt which the Abbot of Popewell owes him . . . But he answers in the roll of account of Benedict de Talemund. 1 Jo., Norhants.

[Similarly Jews of Oxford, Kent, and Norfolk (sums of £1223 and £236 16s. from Aaron's debts) are transferred to Benedict's roll which would thus contain indebtedness amounting to the large sum of £9452 11s.]

172.—Elyas, Jew of Gloucester, renders count (and is quits) of 10 marks for one mark of gold to be quits of his appeal which Samuel son of Mos[illegible] le Riche [No. 140] and Vives son of Benedict a[illegible] Hamiot Hoeth and John the convert have brough[illegible] against him for the money of the aforesaid Moss[illegible] and for a certain carbuncle of his. 1 Jo., Glouc.

Bef. 1200—Benedict of Oxford translates Adelard's "Quæstiones Naturales."

A. Neubauer in *Rabbins Français*, 49

Here beginneth the book of questions between neph[illegible] uncle. I, Berachyah son of Natronai, will gird m[illegible] translate these things in Hebrew, for I found [illegible] the writings of the Gentiles who have taken them [illegible] Arabs. Here are to be found things unknown [illegible] of our time. And when I saw wisdom in an[illegible] and pearls before swine I have purified this

treatise of strange elements and translated it into the sacred language, the most beautiful of tongues. . . .

Question 1.—*Why does a living man sink and a dead one float in the sea?* . . . . . [=Adelard 7.]

Question 2.—*How is the earth supported in the midst of the air?* . . . . . [=Adel. 48.]

Question 4.—*Why does the earth tremble?* [=Adel. 50.]

Question 11.—*Why does grass grow without being sown?* . . . . . [=Adel. 1.]

Question 33.—*Why are not eyes at the back of the head?*

Question 52.—*Why does the grêle* [grasshopper] *appear after thunder?* . . . .

Question 62 [*last*].—*Why does the moon wane?* . . [Adel. 69.]

[These extracts will sufficiently indicate the character of the book called in Hebrew *My uncle and my nephew*, a series of 62 dialogues between uncle and nephew on natural history selected and freely rendered from Adelard of Bath's *Quæstiones Naturales*. The author uses French words: thus one of the questions runs: "*Why have certain birds a stomach, in French* gois, *and others gizzards, in French* gesier?" He leaves out all proper names like those of Socrates, Aristotle, Boethius, and Macrobius, or transforms them, as when he speaks of Antioch as "*the land of Cush*," and refers to Aristotle as one of "*the wise men of Arabia and Keder*." *Man*, he says, *is in the Arabic tongue*, Behemot *and in the tongue of Javan* [Greece] *the beast of the wo* curious perversion of "animal rationale" (see Steinschneid *Letterbode*, viii. 35). We know that a work of this ki written by Berachyah the Punctuator, whom I have i with Benedict of Oxford. It is referred to in the col Hebrew MS. now at Berlin, written by Berachyah in the following words: *I, the scribe and punctu of* [the master] *R. Berachyah the Punctuato*

learned man, the grammarian, the great, wise man who gave good heed and sought out and set in many fables, and he spoke of trees and stones [I. Kings iv. 33], *hewn stones, a man perfect and one that feared God and eschewed evil* [Job i. 1]. *And I, the son of his old age, wrote and pointed this book, and provided it with the Massorah . . . and finished it on Wednesday, the 21st of the month Marcheshwan, of the year 94 of the fourth thousand* [4094], *in the town of Rouen* [or Dreux?]. The colophon is of critical importance, as it settles the date of Berachyah the Punctuator, whom I identify with Benedict the pointer of Oxford, mentioned in the Nottingham Tallage Roll of 5 Ric. I. I have discussed it, *supra*, p. 167.]

Bef. 1200.—Benedict of Oxford translates a work on Mineralogy.

Neubauer. *Rabbins*, 496.

Here follow the qualities of stone according to Rabbi Berachyah the Punctuator.

[This is the heading of a Bodleian MS. which gives a description of 63 species of stones, beginning with adamant and finishing with meteorites. It was probably translated from Latin or French by Benedict of Oxford, the author of the *Fox Fables*.]

Bef. 1200.—Benedict of Oxford comments on Job.

M. S. Szinessy, *Cat. Camb. Heb. MSS.*, i. 40-2, 245.

The wise and great man, the leader of his generation, R. Samuel, may his memory be for a blessing, disagrees with all commentators because he found [Judges xvii. 1.] *"there was a man, a proselyte on Mt. Ephraim, and his name was Micah." And the reason for the name Micah because he had an idol, and I do not know what led them to this error.*

The beginning of a MS. Commentary on Job in the University Library written by one Berachyah, who calls Berachyah the Punctuator. The author quotes

Ibn Ezra, Kimchi. Saadia, Menachem, Dunash, Ibn Giat, Moses Darshan, Rashi, Ibn Ganach, Solomon Parchon, Samuel, Jacob, Joseph Karo, Eliezer of Beaugency, Simeon, his father [? Natronai], and his uncle Benjamin (probably Benjamin of Canterbury, see *supra*, p. 54). The great Samuel referred to above was probably Samuel the Punctuator, whom I have identified with Samuel le Pointur mentioned in the Northampton tallage, *supra*, p. 162. Dr. Schiller Szinessy speaks in the highest terms of the Commentary, "The best explanation of Job that ever fell into our hands."]

Bef. 1200.—English Jews in Germany.

Regesten z. Gesch. d. Juden in Deutschland, Nos. 353, 354.

Joseph the Englishman in Cologne sells his inheritance from his grandfather, Vives the Englishman, to the Jew Alexander, known as Susskind of Würzburg. Susskind and his wife Adelaide, in Cologne, sell to the Jew Gottlieb, of Andernach, and his wife Bela the half of a house and court which belonged to Vives the Englishman. Gottlieb and Bela buy the other half of this house from Abraham and his wife Jutta. Adelaide, Abraham's mother, renounces her rights to support from the said house.

[We have seen Vives, the English Jew, earlier, *supra* p. , buying this very house, which had come into the possession of his two grandsons, Joseph and Abraham, one of whom sell half of it to Susskind of Würzburg, who was a rather disti guished Jewish Minnesinger. See Graetz, *Gesch.* It is pos that Susskind's wife Adelaide was a granddaughter of Viv Englishman, named after her mother.]

1199-1200.—From the Oblate Rolls

Rotuli de Oblatis, ed. Roberts, pp. 41, 56, 66

(*a*) Yorkshire. Richard Malebisse gi £100 sterling and two Norwich ha

leashes of leopards, and four palfreys, to have such seisin of Scalton, and Dale, and de Albi, and of the land of Merton, and of Tollesbi, and of Newenham, and of Baggele, of 40s. rent at Moreton and two marks rent in Scerinton with its appurtenance, as he had when he was disseisined for the slaying of the Jews of York, and by rendering of service to the lord King of 100 marks and a palfrey at the octaves of the clause of Easter . . . and thereon he finds these as sureties, Robert de Jordan for 25 marks, and Peter de Brus of 50 marks. . . And it is ordered unto William, son of Peter, that he should cause the said Richard to have seizin of the said land and their appurtenances without delay.

[The ringleader of the York massacre is getting back into favour.]

(*b*) Lincoln. Elias, son of Aaron the Jew, gives one mark of gold to the lord King to have a writ to remind Roger Constable to pay him what he owes him.

(*c*) Gloucester. Elyas, Jew of Gloucester, gives [illegible]e lord King one mark of gold to be paid immed[illegible] on condition that our lord the King releases [illegible] the complaint which Samuel, son of Mossey, [illegible]l, son-in-law of Mossey, of London, and [illegible] of Alemandrinus, had against him about [illegible] Mossey, of Gloucester.

[illegible]er. Mossey, Jew of Gloucester, gives [illegible] 20 marks of silver, payable at rea[illegible]o have peace for 200 marks which [illegible]him, unless he owes them to the

King, for a debt or tallage, or forisfaction, or any other cause. And it is ordered to William de Warren and his associates that he should be treated just as other Jews of our lord the King, who are nothing to our lord the King. It is ordered to the said William de Warren and his associates that they should take security therefor because our lord the King prefers to have 200 marks rather than 20 marks, and let him be summoned for the 200 marks before the bailiff of the Jews.

Cancelled because our lord the king prefers to have 200 marks from him rather than twenty.

(*e*) Lincoln. Hugo Bard gives our lord the King one palfrey and one blue sparrow-hawk to have an inquest of 12 lawful Jews of Lincoln and 12 free and lawful Christian men of the neighbourhood of Lincoln if those charters which Manser, son of Leon the Jew, and Solomon of Edon, and other Jews of Lincoln produce about the debt which Alexander de St. Wast owed them, and made fine thereon with Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, for £10 sterling to quit him of the whole debt which he owed to all the Jews of Lincoln [whether these charters] are included in that debt which he owed then and whereon he made fine. And it is ordered to the wardens of the Jews that they find it so by holding the inquest, they shall grant peace to Hugo de St. Wast, son and heir of the said Alexander, of the debt which is demanded from him by the said charters. For Easter

[The double jury is remarkable. A further record of the transaction, *infra*, p. 210.]

(*f*) Benedict, Jew of London, gives to Sir King two marks of gold to have a writ for right to a debt which Eustace de Balliol owes him, as he says.

Not sent to the Exchequer because he did not have the writ, nor did the King receive it, and therefore it is not included in the sum.

[This last paragraph is a note of the scribe explaining why after the entry had been made the two marks were not forthcoming. It is clear from it that Jewish payments were made in two ways, (1) to the Exchequer, (2) to the King himself.]

12-31 July, 1199.—Appointment of an Archpriest of the Jews.

Rot. Chart., i. 7.

Confirmation of Jacob Priest of the Jews of London.

The King to all his subjects and to all both Jews and English greeting. Know that we have granted and by this present charter of ours have confirmed to Jacob, Jew of London, priest of the Jews, the presbyterate of all the Jews of the whole of England, to have and to hold as long as he lives freely and quietly, honourably and fully, so that no one thereon shall presume to offer him any hurt or hindrance. Wherefore we will and firmly order that you shall guarantee and maintain and guard in peace the presbyterate of all the Jews throughout England to same Jacob so long as he lives. And if anyone presume to transgress against him in this you without delay see that he is compensated for it barring our own compensation, as he is [dominico] Jew whom we retain specially e. We also forbid that he be called

upon to plead about anything relating to him except before us or before our Chief Justice, as the charter of King Richard our brother testifies.*

Witness, S. Bishop of Bath, &c.

Given by the hand of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, our Chancellor, at Rouen 12 July, in the first year of our reign.

A protection for the same. John, by the grace of God, &c. To all his faithful ones to whom the present letters may come both beyond the sea and this side of it, greeting. We command and order you that through whatever towns and places Jacob, presbyter of the Jews, our dear friend, may pass you shall cause him to pass through and be conducted safely and freely with all belonging to him, nor allow any hindrance, hurt, or injury to be done to him any more than to ourselves. And if any presume to transgress in any point that you shall cause him to make up for it without delay. Witness, William Marshall, &c. [31 July 1 Jo.]

[It is not yet ascertained what were the exact functions of the Archpresbyter of the Jews, of whom only six are known (*Papers A. J. Exh.* p. 178). The title seems to imply that there were other Presbyters, and one Samuel le Prestre is mentioned at Norwich in the Nottingham Tallage Roll. Jacob was the first Archpresbyter, and he seems to have been appointed in Henry II 's time, for he is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of Hen. II. (*supra* p. 84), while the above appointment is a confirmation of one held in Richard's time. Jacob is the R. Jacob quoted in Benedict of Oxford's com[illegible]

* It seems therefore that Richard had also ap[illegible] Arch-Presbyter.

Job, *supra* p. 199). He was succeeded in his high office by Josce in 1207. It is curious to see the Archbishop issuing the appointment of the Archpresbyter.]

23 July, 1199.—King confirms the Sale of a Manor by a Jew.

Rot. Cart. 1. 6 b.

Confirmation to Henry de Grai.—John by the grace of God, &c. Know that we have conceded and by the present charter have confirmed to our dear and faithful Knight Henry de Gray the manor of Turroc with its appurtenances, which is of the fee of the Earl of Ferrars that he may do for the said Earl what should be done for that manor since he had bought the said manor with its appurtenances from Josce son of Isaac the Jew to whom the said Earl of Ferrars has acknowledged by his charter that he had sold the said manor for him and for his father Isaac. Wherefore we will that the said Henry . . shall have and hold the said manor . , through service to the Earl of Ferrars, &c. . . . [23 July, 1 Jo. Charter, m. 27 p. 6 b.]

[The king claimed the right of confirmation of sales of manors by and to Jews in his quality of general suzerain. At the same time he got his fees for the said confirmation. We have met the manor of Turroc and the Earl of Ferrars both before in Richard's Charter. *Supra* p. 135.]

1202.—The King is kind to Earl David at the Jews' expense.

...ation to Earl David.—John by the grace of ... Know that we have granted and by the ... charter confirmed to our dear Earl David

the manor of Tottenham with all its appurtenances, to hold from us and our heirs for himself and his heirs in fee and heredity for a service of two knights for all service. And to the said Earl David we have given and quit claimed all the right which Abraham son of Rabi Joce and his heirs have in the aforesaid manor of Tottenham and its appurtenances. . . Given . . . . . the fifth day of November in the first year of our reign.

[Rot. Chart. i. 27.]

[We have seen, *supra* p. 80, the manor of Tottenham coming into the possession of Avigay and her son Abraham. These must have passed it on to Abraham fil Rabbi.]

The King, &c., to the justiciar of England, &c., and barons of the exchequer at London, greeting. Know that we leave quit claimed our dear and faithful Earl David of £40 which he owed us in our time and of the whole debt which he owed at our exchequer, both in the time of King Henry our father and King Richard our brother, which he owed to us or to the Jews up to [now]. And we order you to return him his charters and cyrographs, 7th Aug. 1202.

[Rot. Lit. Pat. i. 15 *b*.]

The King, &c., to G. fil Peter &c. We order you to give our dear Earl David all his charters and cyrographs of the debts of the Jews whoever may have them, because we have acquitted him of them Christmas in our fourth year [30 Dec. 1202].

[Rot. Lit. Pat

1200.—The King grants Jews' houses to his servants.

Rot. Cart. i. 52, 55*b*.

Charter of Simon de Pateshull.—John, by the grace of God, &c. Know that we have given and conceded and by the present charter confirmed to our beloved and faithful Simon de Pateshull, two messuages in Northampton with their appurtenances, which belonged to Benedict, Jew of York, and which are our escheats, which we give to the said Simon and his heirs to hold in mortgage by free service of 16 pence per annum for all service. . . . Given 16 April, in the first year of our reign.

[Simon de Pateshull was one of the Justiciars of the Jews. *Cf.* P. R. Items, No. *164a*. Benedict was slain during the London riot, 3 Sept. 1189, *supra* p. 119.]

John, by the grace of God, &c. Know that we have given, &c., to Andrew, clerk of Winchester, in exchange for his land, which was taken possession of to made a new moat around the town of Winchester, the land which was Aaron the Jew's in Shorten st. with its appurtenance, with one messuage in the same street near the aforesaid lands of the said Aaron, in which Bona the Jewess used to reside, which lands were our escheats. . . . Given 25 Feb. in the first [illegible] of our reign.

[These are not cases where the King disposed of Jews' property during their lifetime, as it is usually said. Both Benedict and Aaron were dead, and their property was the King's escheat.]

1199.—Leo the Jew the King's Goldsmith.

Rot. Cart., i. 62, *b*.

Charter to Leo the Jew.—John by the grace of

God, &c. Know that we have taken into our hand, custody, and protection Leo the Jew our goldsmith* and all his affairs. And therefore we command you that you keep ward and defend the said Leo and all his affairs, doing no hurt nor injury to him or his affairs, nor permitting any to be done to him by any one; but if any in this transgresses ought against him or his, cause him to compensate him without delay. And we forbid him to be put into any tallage, or any tallage to be demanded from him unless before us. Witness myself, at Northampton, 10 Nov. [in the first year of our reign].

1200.—The Jews mourn the death of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.

Vita Hugonis, ed. Dimock, p. 373.

Those who could not come near [the hearse] threw money on the coffin, and stretching out their hands adored him and commended themselves devoutly to the saint. The Jews too, weeping and wailing, and declaring that he had been a mighty servant of the Lord, paid him honour by running alongside and weeping so that they compelled us to notice that with this man the words of God were fulfilled, "The Lord gave him the blessing of all the nations" (Ecclus. xliv. 25).

[The Bishop had behaved very well during the ri *supra*, p. 116.]

* Later on in the Charter Rolls of 5 Jo (p. 13 reference in a list of John's jewels, to "a stick wi which were Simon's the Jew."

1200.—Bailiffs of the Jews Appointed.

Rot. Chart. i., 61.

John, by the grace of God, to all the Jews established throughout England greeting. Know that we have appointed William de Albion, and William de Warenn, and Thomas de Nevil, and Geoffrey of Norwich, our bailiffs for the Jews of England, on the advice of G., son of Peter our justiciar. And therefore we order and command you that you be attentive to them as our bailiffs in all things that concern us.

[For some reason or other a fresh set of Justiciars of the Jews are here appointed instead of the four who held the post previously (*cf.* P.R. item, 164 *a*.). Among these were two Jews, whereas the new ones are all Christians. The name of the office varies: Warders (Custodes), Proctors (Procuratores, Brompton), Justiciars (Justiciarii), occurring as well as Bailiffs (Ballivi) as here. Their functions were to keep the Jewish accounts as arranged for by the Ordinances of the Jewry (p), and to collect tallages, and to decide between Jew and Christian in disputes about debts. The King is continually addressing them to deliver up deeds and carry out his commands with regard to the Jews.]

10 June, 1200.—Marry or remain in debt.

Rot. Cart., i., 70.

Letters Patent to Reginald Mauleverer.- John by the ce of God, King, &c. Know that we have quit ed and given, and cause to have quit claimed by ws, the debts of Reginald Mauleverer, which our Jews have on the land and castle of le Castro Gunter, for marrying Emma, his Reginald, son of Reginald of Chalion this charter shall be in the hands and

custody of William de Roches, our seneschal at Anjou, till the marriage, and after it the said seneschal shall hand Reginald de Chalion Gunter this charter, and thus the aforesaid Reginald will be quit of the aforesaid debts of the Jews. But if by chance the marriage between them is not carried out, or if perhaps it be carried out but afterwards annulled, the aforesaid debts shall return to us without contradiction. . . . Given on the 10 June, in the second year of our reign.

[This is an instance of the pressure the King could put on his nobles owing to his position as Archusurer. It is evident that a bribe is given to Reginald Mauleverer to marry a certain person. If he does so the King will release him of his indebtedness to the Jews. There is no record how the Jews were compensated in such cases, if it all.]

8 Sept., 1200.—A Jew and his Lord.

Rot. Chart., i., 75*b*.

Charter of William Marshall about a certain Jew at Chambay.—John by the grace of God, &c. Know that we have given and conceded, and by the present charter confirmed, to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, the Jew living at Chambay, whom Stephen de Portico caused to come from France, just as freely and quietly as the same Stephen had him more fr and quietly while the aforesaid town of Chamba in his hands. Witness, Will de Hunnt, const Normandy, 8 Sept. [2 Jo., m. 24, p. 75*b*.]

[This brings before us again the question of a Jew as noticed before in a *Pipe Roll* item, No. 91. I suggest the exact relationship involved.]

1200-1.—From the Pipe Rolls, 2, 3, Jo.

Madox, *Hist. of Exch.*, fol., pp. 170, 161.

173.—Hervey Bagot owes one mark for summoning the Jews to whom he owes debts that they may be at the exchequer to receive the reasonable debt which is owed them. 2 J. Staff.

174.—Robert, Earl of Leicester, renders count of £452 6s. 8d. of the debts of Aaron. In the treasury nil and by the quittances which he has by six starrs of the seal of Aaron £240 6s. 8d. [Owes £212 6s. 8d.] 3 Jo.

175.—William de Colevil owes 52 marks of his price for debts to Aaron [of Lincoln]. But it is put on record by the barons, and by inspection of the scribes of Richard Brito and by the starr of the said Aaron which he did not have in his hands when he made fine with the chancellor, but which the said William has produced that he paid the said debt. And so he is quits. 3 Jo. Linc.

176.—Hugo Bard owes one palfrey and the sparrowhawk to have an inquiry whether those charters which Manser, son of Leo the Jew, and Solomon of Edene and other Jews of Lincoln produce of the [illegible]bt which Alexander de St. Venest owed them, and [illegible]refore he made a fine with Aaron, of Lincoln, for [illegible] for acquitting him of the whole debt, be in- [illegible] under that debt, for which he made a fine.

[illegible]*ra*, p. 201, for the record of this from the Oblate

1201.—From the Fine and Oblate Rolls.

Roberts, p. 121.

(*a*) NORTHAMPTON.—Pucella, who was wife of Deodatus the Jew, and his heirs give Sir King ten marks that the quittances which they have from Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, whose debts are demanded from them, may be heard, and if reason is shown, that it may be adjudged to them. And it is granted that at the close of Easter they may come in the presence of the king with their writings and other quittances if they have any from him. And it is ordered to the justices of the Jews that they may have peace from that demand till then. Pledge Jacob fil Samuel, of Northampton.

[The King claims debts to deceased Jews like Aaron from Jews also.]

(*b*) YORK.—Thomas de Luton gives our lord the King 30 marks, for which he had previously made a fine with Peitevin de Eya and Ysaac fil Mosse, Jews, for the debts which they demand from him by two charters, viz., one of £60 in the name of Joce and Benedict and another of £30 in the name of Benedict. And the lord King for those £30 quit claims th aforesaid Thomas of the said debts of £60 and £ so that when Peitevin and Ysaac the Jews afor shall have their judgment, the charters will be to the said Thomas to be shared if they des

[There seems to be some mistake here, since £30 are both mentioned as the sum paid. Perh was to the Jews, the latter to the King, in debts of £90 had fallen on the death of Josce

York. He then, it would seem, farms out the debt to Peytevin and Ysaac for a consideration, and finally releases Thomas for a substantial share of the booty. The King was clearly the Arch-usurer of the kingdom.]

10 Apr. 1201.—Confirmation of the Charters of the Jews.

Rot. Cart., i. 93.

I.

Charter of the Jews of England.—John, by the grace of God, &c. I.—Know that we have granted to all the Jews of England and Normandy to have freely and honourably residence in our land, and to hold all that from us which they held from King Henry, our father's grandfather, and all that now they reasonably hold in land and fees and mortgages and goods, and that they have all their liberties and customs just as they had them in the time of the aforesaid King Henry, our father's grandfather, better and more quietly and more honourably.

II.—And if any dispute arise between a Christian and a Jew he who summons the other to answer his complaint should have witnesses, viz.: a lawful Christian and a lawful Jew. And if a Jew has a writ ... out his complaint the writ shall be a witness for ... and if a Christian have a complaint against a ... t it be judged by peers of the Jew.

... And when a Jew dies his body shall not be ... above earth, but his heirs shall have his ... his debts, so that he shall not be dis... ore if he has an heir who may answer ... what is right about his debts and his

forfeit. And let it be lawful for Jews to receive and buy without difficulty all things that may be brought to them except things of the church or blood-stained cloth.

IV.—And if any Jew is summoned by anyone without testimony, he shall be quits of that summons on his sole oath on his Book. And on the summons of those things that belong to our crown he shall be quits on his sole oath on his roll. And if there is a dispute between Christian and Jew about accommodation of some money the Jew shall prove the capital and the Christian the interest.

V.—And let it be lawful to the Jew to sell his pledge after it is certain that he has held it for a whole year and one day. And Jews shall not enter into pleadings except before us and before those who guard our castles in whose bailiwicks the Jews dwell.

VI.—And wherever the Jews may be let it be lawful for them to go when they will with all their chattels just as our own property, and let none stop or prevent them in this.

VII.—And we order that they be free through a[ll] England and Normandy of all the customs and t[olls] and modiation of wine just as our own chattels. [And] we order you to guard, to defend, and to m[ake] them. And we prohibit anyone from sum[moning] them against their charter on the above[-named] our forfeit such as the charter of King[John] father reasonably declares. Witnesse[d by] of Peter Earl of Essex, &c., &c.

borough the tenth day of April in the second year of our reign. [M. 5 f. 93.]

[This is practically identical with the Charter of Richard I., of which we have extant a special form, *supra* p. 134. At the same time is given us the important information that the Jews had a similar one even as early as the time of Henry I., John's great grandfather. It is noteworthy that there is no statement to the effect that the Jews were the King's chattels as stated in the interpolated clause of the laws of Edward the Confessor (*supra* p. 68). On the contrary VI. speaks of Jewish chattels being treated "just as if they were our own property," which implies that they were not the King's property.]

II.

Confirmation to the Jews of their liberties.—John, by the grace of God, &c. Know that we have conceded and by this present charter of ours confirmed to our Jews in England that excesses which may arise among them except those which belong to our crown and justice, as homicide, mayhem, premeditated assault, burglary, rape, theft, arson, and treasure-trove, shall be brought before them according to their law and remedied, and they shall do justice thereon among themselves. And we also grant to them that if any of them summon another on a charge which pertains to us we will compel none of them [redacted] witness against any other, but if the summoner [redacted] reasonable and suitable witness let him bring [redacted] him. But if some criminal and overt deed [redacted] ong them which pertains to our crown and [redacted] in the aforesaid pleas of the crown, [redacted] e of them has become an accuser [redacted] cause that charge to be investigated

by our lawful Jews of England, as the charter of King Henry our father reasonably testifies.

[Same witnesses, place and date as preceding.]

[This is probably a confirmation of the liberty originally granted by Henry II. at the beginning of his reign and referred to in State papers of the period, *supra* p. 42. Several references occur to this separate jurisdiction of the Jews *inter se* in the Pipe Rolls (Nos. 20, 129). The "Bishops" of the Jews were probably the judges in such cases.]

1201.—The Price of the Charters.

Rot. Obl. ed. Roberts, 133.

The Jews of England give our Lord the King four thousand marks to have their charters confirmed, and the charters were sent to Godfrey son of Peter by Stephen de Portico that they should cause them to be read in their presence and in the presence of the Lord Bishops of London and Norwich and when they have received security for the payment of these four thousand marks, viz., 1000 immediately, 1000 at Michaelmas, 1000 at Easter, 1000 at Michaelmas, then they shall deliver to them the Charters in the presence of the aforesaid. [Obl. 2 Jo. m. i.]

1201.—Jurnet's daughter in business.

**Brit. Mus. Harl.*, Ch. 43, A.

Know, &c., I, Peter of Eclesfield, owe Mar[illegible] daughter of Jurnet, five marks of silver at the [illegible] of St. John the Baptist following the d[illegible] Gerard, prior of Norwich, for which wh[illegible] them I owe twopence in the pound [pe[illegible] interest, and for the interest and ca[illegible]

pledged to her all my land of Porligelode and if aught is lacking enough of my other lands to make satisfaction to her or her heirs.

Endorsed in Hebrew.

Be it known to all that Petrus from Eikelfelt is quits with R. Jacob ben Moses . . Miriam . . from all debts . . from the day . . of the era.

[This is a peculiarly interesting document as giving the Hebrew name of the great Jurnet of Norwich, and as showing that his daughter though born of a Christian mother was a Jewess, and was even well instructed enough to write a Hebrew receipt, though it is not quite certain that the *Shetar* was drawn out by her.]

1202.—A Strange Charge.

Placit. Abbrev., p. 36*b*. Tovey, *Anglia Jud.*, 66.

Pleas held at Bedford at Michaelmas 4 Jo. before Simon de Pateshull and Richard de Falconbridge and their associates,

Hundred of Clipton.—Robert of Sutton summons Bonefand, the Jew of Bedford, that he maliciously and against the peace of our lord the King caused to be ementulated Richard his nephew, wherefrom he died. Also that he caused him to be carried to this [redacted]and of Haston, which he has in pledge, and he died [redacted]ere. And this he offers to prove. Bonefand de-[redacted]ded the whole, and offers our Lord the King one [redacted]to have an inquiry whether he is guilty or no. [redacted]y say he is not guilty, and Bonefand is there-[redacted], and Robert at the King's mercy for a false

[redacted]ossible that this was a case of conversion to [redacted] part of Richard, the nephew of Robert of

Sutton, and that the charge was practically that of performing circumcision. It is noteworthy that the case came before the jury of the hundred as in the ordinary course.]

10 June, 1203.—Rubigotsce's House at Rouen.

Rot. Cart, 105 *b.*

Confirmation of the Jews of Rouen.—John, by the grace of God, &c. Know that we have conceded and by our present charter confirmed to Josce and Brun, sons of Bonevie, Jews of Rouen and their heirs, the reasonable sale which Josce son of Isaac has made them of the whole tenement which was Raby Joscey's at Rouen in the Jews' Street which the said Josce had and had a right to have from the heritage of Ysaac his father, as it is situated with all its appurtenances, and as it extends between Jews' Street and the land which was John of St. Candid's, and between the land of the aforesaid Brun which the said Josce sold him and the land which belonged to Abraham fil Raby with all the building and appurtenances belonging to it. . . . . [10 Jun, 5 Jo.]

[This though relating to Rouen and its Jews is an important document as showing that Rubigotsce (see *supra*, p. 15) and his family kept up relations with Rouen for nearly a century, though his sons Ysaac and Abraham were the head London Jews of t twelfth century.]

22 July, 1204.—Anti-Semitism in London.

Tovey, *Anglia Judaic*

The King to the Mayor and Barons of greeting. We have always loved you caused your rights and liberties to be w whence we believe ye love us in espe wish to preserve all that conduces to

the peace and tranquility of our land. But since ye know that the Jews are under our special protection we wonder that you allow harm to be done to the Jews residing in the city of London, since that is clearly against the peace of the realm and the tranquility of our land. And we wonder and are moved at this, the more because the other Jews wheresoever they reside through England, except those in your town, remain at peace. We say this for our Jews and for our peace, for if we have granted our peace to anyone it should be observed inviolably. Henceforth, however, we commit the Jews residing in the city of London to your custody, so that if any attempt to do them harm you may defend them, coming to their assistance with an armed force. For we shall require their blood at your hand if by your fault any ill happen to them, which may God forbid. For we well know that things of this sort happen by reason of the unwise of the towns and not of the discreet, and the discreet ought to check the folly of the unwise.

[The evil results of the immunity given to the rioters of Sept. 3-4, 1189, is thus seen in the bad feeling still subsisting between Jew and Christian 15 years later. John took care of his Jews because he loved them, but because they were useful to him [illegible]rought him in money from all quarters. One of the clauses [illegible]na Carta (§ 11) is directed against them.]

[illegible]202-4.—From the Pipe Rolls, 4-6 Jo.

[illegible]adox, *Hist. of Exch.*, fol., pp. 161, 155, 166, 170.

[illegible]o de Nevil, who has the daughter and [illegible]ry de Cornhill to wife, renders count [illegible]re required from Gervase de Cornhill

and the said Henry of the debts of Aaron. In the Treasury nil, and by quittance which the said Gervase and Hugo his son have of the said debt by a Starr which the said Hugo produced at the Treasury before the Barons £90. And owes £10. 4 Jo.

181.—Master Benjamin, and Jacob son of Manasses, and Abraham and Manasses the sons of Benjamin, and Samuel son of David, and Sante de Gurnon, owe 20 marks, that William of Shelford and Matthew his brother be distrained to pay them £42 for capital and interest. 5 Jo. Cant. et Hunt. New offerings.

["Master" may possibly be equivalent to Doctor.]

182.—Muriel the Jewess owes £100 that she may have for husband Ysaac, the Jew of Oxford, as has been spoken of between them. 5 Jo. Lond. New offerings.

[This was something more than a marriage fine. Muriel did a large business, and the marriage would therefore be a partnership as well, and for this the King required to be compensated. See No. 163*a*. Isaac was a widower; his daughter Chera is mentioned, No. 187. Muriel was a widow.]

183.—Benedict, brother of Aaron of Lincoln, owes 20 marks to have his oath according to the custom of the Jews to convict Ursel, Jew of Lincoln, of being a forger, namely by such an oath as other Jews are wont to be convicted as forgers. 5 Jo., Linc.

184.—Simon de Kyma owes 20 marks to have a jury of lawful Christians and Jews to find whether no Philip de Kyma, father of the said Simon, was on the day he died to Deodatus, Bishop of [illegible] and Ysaac son of Rabi, and Abraham son of [illegible] and Jacob, Jew of Lincoln, that debt was [illegible]

Jews demand from the same Simon by charters which they say they have from Philip, father of the said Simon. 5 Jo., Linc.

[It does not follow that all these Jews were alive at this time, as the deed was drawn up in Philip's lifetime.]

185.—Renford, son of Roger, owes four palfreys that he may pay 400 marks which he owes to the following Jews: Jacob of Northampton, Meriana, daughter of Ysaac, &c., in four years from Easter of the 5th year 25 marks each quarter till the whole debt is paid. 5 Jo. Cant. et Hunt.

186.—Hugh de Fokington and Egelina his wife owe £200 of which he ought to pay at once £50 into the King's Treasury that the King may acquit them of the debts they owe to the Jews, viz., £250 principal, with usury made into principal, and that he may cause their charters to be returned to them by the Jews and also their lands which are in the hands of the Jews on account of this. 5 Jo. Oxenf.

187.—Robert de Gray owes £10 to have quittance of £30 capital and 2 marks usury which he owes Chera, daughter of Ysaac, Jew of Oxford, inasmuch as has made the said Jewess his attorney for 100s. per annum till she has received the aforesaid and 2 marks. 6 Jo. Oxon. New Offerings.

—Ralph de Toftes owes half a mark that the n and donation which Richard de Lecche- ade him of the land of Hales may be the Great Roll in these words:—

men present and future that I, Richard

de Lecchesam, clerk, son of Richard of Lecchesam, have granted and given to Ralph de Toftes all my land of Hales with all its purtenances for his homage and service for 4 marks of silver which he gave me and for 100 marks which I owed to the Jews for myself and my predecessors on the aforesaid land for principal and interest wherefrom he has cleared me. 6 Jo. Wirecestre.

Bef. 1204. "Except to Jews and Monks."

Hist. Com. Rep. ix. 50*b*.

Grant in fee by Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's and the Chapter of that Church, to Warin the goldsmith of the land he had bought from Richard son of Master Henry, without power of alienation to Jews or to religious bodies.

[This is the first instance I have found of a clause very frequent in later deeds of the thirteenth century by which it was hoped to prevent land getting into the hands of the Jews or the monks.]

1202-4.—From the Patent Rolls.

Ed. Hardy.

(*a*) The King, &c., to Benedict of Talemunt the Jew &c. Know that we have freed our dear and faithful William Mansey 50 pounds of Poitou which he owes to thee and other Jews of Rochelle. . . [6 July, 1202.]

[This shows that Benedict de Talemunt, the Jewish jus[t] the Jews, was a native of France.]

(*b*) The lord King has pardoned by hi[s] patent William Earl of Arundell of all del[ts] which he owed them up to St. Lawrence's fourth year of his reign. At Alençon, 8

(*c*) Thomas, clerk of the chamber, has the letters patent of the lord King addressed to J. Bishop of Norwich about Norton Church, which at that time was at the disposal of the Lord the King on the occasion when the land of Joscelin of Totnes was in the hands of the Lord the King for the debts of the Jews [c. 13 Aug. 1202].

[See *supra* p. 220-1.]

(*d*) The King &c. to all &c. Know that we have quit claimed Saher de Quincy of 300 marks which he owes to the Jews. And thereon give him quittance for one year from Michaelmas. And he has as a witness of the King these letters patent addressed to the Earl of Leicester, at present guarding them. [28 May, 1203].

[See *infra* p. 229.]

(*e*) The King, &c., to G. fil Peter, &c. Know that we have acquitted our dear and faithful William de Breos of £50 sterling which a certain Jew of Northampton claims from him by the surety of Ranulf de Glanvile and Walter de Clifford. And therefore we order you to acquit him and cause the charter which the Jew has to be returned to him. [7 June, 1203.]

(*f*) The King to the Sheriffs of Kent, Cambridge, [illegible]x, Norfolk, and to the Constables of Kent, [illegible]ridge, Essex, and Norfolk, greeting. We order [illegible] as you love you and yours you make such [illegible]rent distraints on the Jews of your baili[illegible]heir debts that the money which they [illegible]y us at once shall not remain unpaid [illegible] fault of yours. But in this, as in all

other matters relating to the Jews, follow what William de Warren and Master S. our clerk enjoin upon you either by word of mouth or by letters, so that we may not put aught upon you or yours. [30 Jan. 1204].

(*g*) King, &c., to the seneschal of Normandy and the Wardens of the Jews in Normandy. We forbid you to molest unjustly Morell, Jew of Wells or to permit him to be unjustly molested by anyone, saving our law and customs. [19 Feb. 1204.]

[Morell seems to have crossed the sea to Normandy.]

(*h*) King, &c., to Justiciars, &c. Know that we have given Hannechin, our Jew, our sure peace so that he may go about safely in our land and stay there like our other Jews for the good service which he did us in the Castle of Audeley with our dear and faithful Richard, Constable of Chester. And therefore we command you that he have our firm peace as above said. 2 Nov. [1204].

[This is the converse of the preceding entry, and shows that while there was mutual freedom of movement for Norman and English Jews, yet a permit had to be obtained before changing residence. *Cf. P. R.*, item No. 87.]

15 April, 1204.—A General Release except for Jews

Rymer. *Fœdera* (Record, ed.), i.

The King to the Sheriff of Dorset, &c.

Know that we, for the love of God and the tion of the soul of our mother who is dea freed and acquitted from Wednesday ne Easter, 14th April, in the fifth year of ou the prisoners and incarcerated, whether robbery, or for breach of the first law

crime: except prisoners captured in our war, and except those whom we sent from Normandy to England to be incarcerated or kept under guard, and except our Jewish prisoners.

[Whatever the cause, John hated the Jews, as was shown by his persecution of them, 1210. This is the only reason I can suggest for the exception made against the Jews in the general clearance of the prisons. I have not been able to trace many who were incarcerated. See, however, *Pipe Rolls*, item No. 126, and pp. 233, 237.]

1204.—English Jews are orthodox.

Abraham ben Nathan, *Hamanhig* (Heb.), 83*b*.

[After Sabbath it is customary to smell sweet scents to restore the soul after such a loss. But if a festival occurs on Sunday there is no need for this, and the perfumes are omitted in the ceremony for ushering out the Sabbath.]

And those who use the perfumes do wrong, for I have not seen it done in France, Burgundy, Germany, and all the land of the island of the sea [England], *but only in a few places in Spain have I heard of its being done.*

[Abraham ben Nathan, born in Lunel and settled in Toledo in 1204, the year he wrote his book on Jewish customary rites, *Hamanhig*, seems to have been a great traveller from the above quotation ("I have not seen") and to have visited England.]

c. 1204.—A Discussion about usury.

Revue des Etudes juives, t. iv. p. 7-8.

[illegible] shalt not lend at interest to thy brothers [illegible]iii. 20). *They reproach us for doing usury and David says* (Ps. xv.), "*He that lendeth not at [illegible] he shall not perish.*" *Answer: David was [illegible], he could not therefore place himself in con-*

tradiction to his master by making additions or omissions in the Law: now Moses has said: "To the stranger thou mayest lend at interest, but to thy brother thou shalt not lend at interest." *Our persecutors will perhaps pretend that they are our brothers in virtue of the verse,* Despise not the Idumean, for he is thy brother (Deut. xxiii. 8), *but to that R. Moses of Paris has replied: The prophet Obadiah has established that this brotherhood no longer exists, for he has said:* Strangers have entered within thy gates, and thou wast of the number (Obad. v. 11). *Now he is speaking of Edom, as may be seen from the beginning of his discourse,* We have heard a rumour concerning Edom.

[This discussion occurs in a volume of controversy still inedited, of which M. Zadoc Kahn has given an interesting account, *Revue des études juives*, t. ii. and iii. It is an example how the lower minds among the Jews excused themselves for what they knew to be wrong. That the view was not shared by other Jews is shown by the comment: *There is nothing in it* (the argument), added by the compiler of the book. R. Moses of Paris is mentioned in the English records as "Mosse de Paris." See *infra*, p. 229.]

1205.—Clipping Money.

Rot. Lit. Pat. ed. Hardy, i. 47*b*; 54*b*

The King, &c., to the Sheriff of Lincoln greetin
We order that, immediately on receipt of this let
you order to be known and declared throughou
bailiwick at the fairs and markets, and on fe
at the porches of churches, that no one sl
or have clipped money after the feast of
in the sixth year of our reign. . . . A
or woman who shall have such money sl

mercy and shall give safe pledges, and all their chattels shall be attached for obtaining our mercy. But if clipped money be found in the hand of Jew or Jewess the money shall be taken and perforated and placed in a certain safe box for our needs, and the body of the Jew or Jewess that has such money shall be taken and their goods taken and retained without bail till we order otherwise. . . . 9 Nov. [1205].

ASSIZE OF MONEY. Old money may be current in which 2s. and 6d. lacks in every pound, and the money that lacks more shall be perforated and given up, as is elsewhere provided for [see *ante*.] But Jews, goldsmiths, and foreign merchants may buy with such money their victual and clothing, but they should not make an offering [to the King] or merchandise except with the strong and great money, which is lawful and of sterling weight. . . . Also let it be inquired by free and lawful men in cities, boroughs, and towns if a Christian or Jew clips money, and if any Christian or Jewish clipper be found, let all their chattels be taken and their bodies placed in our prison, and they shall be at our will to do justice on them. . Winchester, 26 Jan. [1206.]

[There was great temptation to clip money when it was so easily minted. However for most purposes money was exchanged by weight, not tale, doubtless as a check against this. Nevertheless, by their advantageous position as moneyers could force their debtors to take depreciated coin, and doubtless the chief offenders in money clipping for this [illegible] the above protection is in general terms. Complaints frequent against them in the thirteenth century.]

1205.—A Cyrograph Bond.

H. Hall. *Court Life under Henry II.*, 231.

Know all men, present and future, that I Ysaac, Jew of Northampton, have let to farm to Margery, wife of Roger de Huc, all the land which I have in pledge of the aforesaid Roger, her husband, for four-score pounds and sixty-six shillings and eightpence of silver, which the same Roger owes to me in respect of a fine which he made with me concerning the debt of his father, as the cyrograph made between us bears witness. To hold and to have to the aforesaid farm of me or my heirs; rendering therefor yearly to me and my heirs one hundred shillings, namely fifty shillings at Pentecost of the seventh year of the reign of King John, and fifty shillings at the feast of St. Martin next following; and so from year to year, so long as the aforesaid Margery shall lawfully render to me yearly at the appointed term the farm aforesaid. And if it shall so happen that Avicia, the mother of the aforesaid Roger, her husband, do decease, the whole half of her dower in the aforesaid vill of Huc, which concerns me, according to the convention in another cyrograph made between us, shall remain in the hands of the aforesaid Margery, rendering there yearly to me and my heirs fifty shillings, namely at Pentecost and half at Martinmas, togeth the other 100 shillings that she renders to m land aforenamed which I have committed farm.' And if it shall so happen that t Margery shall have kept the aforesaid d days beyond any term of any year that

Margery shall give to me twenty shillings as a penalty beyond the ferm aforesaid; and the whole land aforesaid shall return into my own hand without any gainsaying: so that it shall be lawful for me to retain the land in my own hand or to commit it to farm to whomsoever I will. So that, nevertheless, that committal be not to the disinheritance of the aforesaid Roger by computing yearly the whole farm which the aforesaid Margery was bound to render to me in payment of the principal of the debt of Roger, her husband, as the cyrograph made between us bears witness. And that this convention may endure ratified and unshaken to future times, it is confirmed by the putting of the seals of each of us hereto, and the foot of this cryograph remains in the chest of our lord the King at York in witness.

[Ysaac had clearly the whole family in his power, Roger de Huc, his father and mother before him, and now Margery his wife. Yet it cannot be said that the terms of release are at all oppressive: the whole debt, £83 6s. 8d., would be paid off in seventeen years. The cyrograph was a document in duplicate, one half being given to Margery and the other kept in the Jews' Exchequer at York, where the royal officials could use it for the purpose of taxing Ysaac. See the ordinances of the Jewry, *infra* p. 157.]

1202-6.—From the Liberate Rolls.

Ed. Roberts, pp. 24, 34, 35, 38.

lord the King pardons Tom de Bury £133 ich the Jews demand from him by a r of Robert of Cokesfeld and Adam his heritance the said Thomas hath, and it is

ordered to Will de Warren and his associates to give possession of the said charter to the same Thomas and let him be quits of the said debt. Similarly it was ordered to Galfred Fitz Peter [the Treasurer. 2 Jo.]

(*b*) The King to Galfred Fitz Peter, &c. Know that we have quit-claimed Matthew de Geltford and William his brother of £40 sterling which they owe to the Jews of Cambridge both of principal and of usury, of which we order you to cry him quits. Myself at Moleville, 25th May [5 Jo., 1204].

(*c*) The King, &c., to G. Fitz Peter. Know that we have freed our dear Hugh de Chaucumb of the usuries of £34 which he owes Mosse de Paris and Leo de Warwick, Jews, for Nigel de Mundwill from the beginning of Lent up to Pentecost, and therefore we order you to free him therefrom. Myself at Moleville 19 May, in the fifth year of our reign [1204].

In the same form it was written to the Wardens of the Jews.

(*d*) The King, &c., to William de Warren and Thomas de Nevile, and Galfred of Norwich, Justiciars of the Jews, &c. Know that we have freed our faithful Saher de Quency 300 marks which he owes to the Jews, and we therefore order you so to free him and also of other 300 marks which he owes the Jews, make him quits of the usury from Mi[illegible] in the fifth year of our reign, for one ye[illegible] at Rouen, 28 May [1204].

[See *supra* p. 222 for another reference to th[illegible]

(*e*) The King, &c., to G. Fitz Peter, &c. We order you with regard to what Hennia, Jewess of Oxford, demands for a debt from Walter de Bolebec and Constanee his wife, you free them from this except what they ought to pay. 31 May [1204].

(*f*) *Land given.* The King, &c., to W. and T. and G., Wardens of the Jews, greeting. We order you to deliver, without delay, to our dear clerk, Thomas de Camera, the land which was Jocelin de Lodnes', which Benedict, Jew of Norwich, holds in pledge. We will that the said Thomas may hold it for the same rent which Walter de Raveningham and another hold it from the aforesaid Jew until the heirs of the aforesaid Jocelin have freed the said land towards the said Jews and his heirs. 5th June [1204].

(*g*) *Land given.* The King to Benedict, Jew of Norwich, and his sons. Know that we will our dear clerk, Thomas de Camera, to hold from you the land which you have in pledge from Jocelin de Lodnes for the same rent which Walter de Raveningham and another hold it from you, and that he shall hold it till the heirs of the said Jocelin have freed the said and towards you and your heirs. And therefore we der you to deliver the same Thomas the aforesaid or to his sure agent. 5 June [1204].

is one of the few orders directed personally to a Jew from that is to be found in the records.]

King to the G. Fitz Peter, &c. Know we ed William de Mara £25 10s. sterling of e Jews with the usuries which he owes London on condition that the said

William shall hold at our service, at his expense, 3 soldiers and 5 servants up to Easter; and we therefore order you to cry quits to him and cause his charters, which the Jews hold, to be returned. 25 June [1204].

In the same form was it written to William de Warren and his associates [Wardens of the Jews].

[The King could free a man either of his debt to the Jews or of the usury on that debt.]

1204-6.—From the Fine and Oblate Rolls.

Ed. Roberts, i. 198. 23*b*.

(*a*) Master Michael, clerk of Earl William Marshal, gives 5 marks and 6 skins of lutse, to be paid within a year, to have the vacant land between the church of St. Stephen, in Coleman Street, and the house of the sons of Brunn the Jew, in the City of London, which is recognised as being the right and inheritance of the same Michael.

(*b*) Vives, son of Aaron the Jew, of Lincoln, owes Sir King 10 marks to have seisin of the whole land of Ralph Luvel, as of his pledge, as is contained in a charter which he has thereon from the same Ralph and that it may not remain for the debt of the s Ralph, which he owes to Sir King, provided tha same Jew pay every year £20 to Sir King debt which Ralph owes Sir King till he has aforesaid debt.

Cancelled because it does not pl the King. [See p. 233.]

(*c*) Egidias Gocelin gives half of ten

justice on Ursel, Jew of London, that he may justly and without delay pay him ten marks, which he owes him, as he says, just as reasonably, &c. And it is ordered to the Constable of the Tower of London that he take that half for the needs of Sir King of the first moneys paid in.

(*d*) Vives fil Aaron of Lincoln gives 60 marks, of which he paid the King 30 to be under pledges to stand his trial before the lord King at his summons. And the sheriff of Lincoln is ordered that if he receive surety from him that he will stand his trial, &c., and of the other 30 marks to be paid in the chamber of the Lord King on the morrow of the close of Easter, whenever it then be, he [the sheriff] cause his chattels to be returned to him which were seized on the occasion when his body was not found when he ought to have been arrested.

Not sent to the Exchequer because it was all paid in Court.

(*e*) Warwick. Godfrey le Salvage gives 10 marks that William de Havreshill may quit him towards Jacob, Jew of Northampton, of the pledge of the debt, wherefore he was his pledge against the same and for which it is sought to distrain for his ult. [Granted.]

Tom de Ardenton gives four palfreys as good rly he gave . . . . . to have the King's ertain Jews about a certain debt, viz., £30, ook in hand for Hervey Bagod, that Sir ndone that debt which it is ordered to e of Northampton and the Wardens of

the cyrographs of the Jews of Northampton, that they shall acquit Thomas of that debt and usury.

[The title "Wardens of cyrographs" is otherwise unknown.]

(*f*) Ysaac Blund,* Jew of York, gives one mark that the King may order the Sheriff of York to keep in safe custody the servant of God, Hoppecol, the Jew, whom he took and is keeping in prison as is said for falsifying the King's money, so that the said Jew be not liberated except by special command of the King.

[See *infra*, whence it appears that Hoppecol escheated his lands in London in consequence of this.]

(*g*) Elyas Blund,* Jew of Lincoln, gives 200 marks and 2 marks of gold that the duel pledged against him at Nottingham, in the sixth year, may remain, and [gives] security for paying those monies to Robert of Oldbridge for the King's need.

[See *supra* for another instance of a duel by Jews.]

(*h*) Somerset. Ralph Luvel gives 60 marks to have the land of Cary, with its purtenances, which Vives, son of Aaron, the Jew, holds and is to be held on condition that he pay the King every year £25 of the debt which he owes the King for his father and himself till those debts be fully paid. To have a right on the aforesaid Jew, who received that for acquitting £80 of the aforesaid debt, and h so acquitted it, as he says . . . . [See

(*j*) Lincoln. Bona, who was the wife of J of Lincoln, gives a fourth part of 40 m

* "Blund" probably means blond or fair, a r menon among the Jews in those days, it would

she claims for dowry against Peitevin, son of Jacob, to have a writ from the justiciar for having to justice the said Peitevin for paying the said 40 marks as reasonable, &c. Has for it a writ addressed to the Justices of the Jews.

(*l*) Ordered the Sheriff of Northampton to hasten the business of Jacob, son of Samuel, Jew of Northampton, by giving him seisin for the sureties which Hugo de Lisonis pledged him for the debts he owed him . . . . Also that on seeing these letters he gives seisin to the said Jacob of the pledges which Hugo de Lisonis pledged to him for the debt owed him by the cyrograph made between them, and that they keep and defend the same Jew in his pledges.

1205.—The London Synagogue.

**Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 4542.

Ysaac the cyrographer owes half a mark that the concession and donation which the King made to him for his service and for half a mark of gold in the seventh year of his reign at the Exchequer before Godfrey son of Peter, then justiciar, and William de Warren and Thomas de Nevill and Galford of Norwich and Richard Earl of Chester and William Earl Salisbury and the Earl of Arundel and William Treasurer and other Barons of the Exchequer of land in London in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry which belonged to Josce of York and Hoppecole, Jews, and which was an escheat to the King on the death of the aforesaid Josce. Inscribed on the Great Roll so that the

said Isaac and his heirs may have the same land freely, quietly, and without any exaction for the same tax *(consum)* which the said Josce and Samuel used to pay to the chief lord of the fief and that the same Ysaac and his heirs can give, will, or pledge the same land if they will on doing therefor service of one pound of cummin to Henry de Cornhull and his heirs every year for all service within 15 days after Easter.

[The history of this piece of land is peculiarly interesting, as it can be traced for a hundred years till the Expulsion. From the above it appears to have been originally the property of Josce of York, killed last in the wholesale suicide of 1190 (*supra* p. 127. It seems then to have passed to Samuel Hoppecole, who from a preceding reference was accused of coining (*supra* p. 233) by a brother Jew, and was probably hanged for this. On his death his property came into the hands of the King as an escheat, and we now see him giving it (doubtless for a consideration) to Ysaac the Cyrographer, a title which here occurs for the first time. It probably means one of the two Jewish clerks mentioned in the ordinances of the Judaism (*supra* p.), who had to take charge of the chest containing the cyrographs or bonds. For special reasons it is worth while following the history of Ysaac's house further.

In 1220 one Hugo de Nevil sues Sampson, son of Isaac, fo[r] ten years' rent of houses in St. Lawrence Jewry, and the sa[id] Sampson declares that Hugo had freed his father Isaac for [a] pound of cummin seed (Cole, *Documents*, p. 293). In 12[2] same Sampson fil Isaac pays half a mark for having inscr[ibed] the Great Roll of the Exchequer that he has given to [him] his son, and the son of Malke his wife, the land whi[ch] in St. Lawrence Jewry, which land lies between [the] which was Abraham's fil. Avegaye, on the east, [the] Warwick's on the west, and extends in length fr[om] to the *Synagogue* (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Add*, 454[8]

Here then is an hitherto unknown synagogue in the parish of St. Lawrence, in a street running east and west which can only be Catte Street, now Gresham Street. There is a curious confirmation of this in Stow's "Survey of London," which enables us to identify the house. In speaking of Basinghall Ward, Stow remarks (p. 108, ed. Thoms), "On the west side, almost at the south end thereof, is Bakewell Hall, corruptly called Blakewell Hall. . . But that this house hath been a temple or Jewish synagogue (as some have fantasied), I allow not, seeing it had no such form of roundness or other likeness."*

Now we have seen a record of a synagogue exactly in this neighbourhood, given in the document I have just referred to, and here we have Stow reporting a tradition of Bakewell Hall having been a synagogue. The conclusion is almost forced upon us that Bakewell Hall was once a synagogue or public building of the London Jews. And if so, this very possibly explains its somewhat enigmatic name. Bakewell Hall may be a corruption of Bathwell Hall, the bathing-place or *Mikveh* of the London Jewesses, where they used to perform the ritual lavations prescribed by Rabbinic law.

This synagogue lasted on in use till the expulsion, as we find it mentioned as such as late as 1280, and I have given reasons for supposing it to be still in Jewish hands in 1290. (See my lecture on *The London Jewry*, 1290, in *Papers, Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 11). Besides the synagogue there was also a "great school" (probably for the Separated or the Rabbis), for in the Common Pleas of 17 Ed. II., Michaelmas, there is mention of a house in the parish of St. Mary, Colechurch, next to the house which was formerly the Great School of the Jews, belonging to Abraham fil Raby (*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 4542 f.). This exactly corresponds to the arrangement in the Jewish code of location given *infra* p. 243, as also by the similar arrangement at Norwich, for which see Blomefield, iv. 225, who mentions that the school was at the south end of the synagogue, and distinct from it.]

* Clark Stow is referring to the general opinion that the synagogues were round, as tradition declares the round ones at Cambridge and Nottingham to have been synagogues.

1204-6.—From the Close Rolls.

(*a*). The King, etc., to William de Warren and his associates, Justices of the Jews, greeting. We order you to acquit Ralph de Verly of 18 marks of the debt which he owes the Jews, Provided that he pays them the principal, for which payment you shall appoint reasonable terms and also give him the lands which came into the hands of the Jews on that occasion and likewise without delay cause his charters to be returned to him which the Jews took from him when he paid them the principal. [16 June, 1204.]

(*b*). The King to Robert of Oldbrige, etc. We order you to send to our Justices appointed in London for the custody of the Jews, Abraham fil Muriel whom you have in our prison at Windsor. [13 Oct., 1204.]

(*c*) The King, &c., to W. de Warren, Thomas de Nevil, and G. de Norwiz, Justices of the Jews, &c. We order you to give respite till we come to London to the demand of the debt which Jacob, the Writer [Scriptor] and Beleasez, Jews of London, claim against the Prior of Lewes, by the Earl of Warren. [24 Feb., 1205.]

(*d*) The King, etc., to the Jews of Lincoln. We order you without delay to give W. Manclerc, our clerk, four marks of gold or satisfy him for the money. [28 Feb., 1205.]

(*e*) The King, etc., to the Bishop of Lincoln. We order you not to permit the chattels of the Jews to be unjustly admitted into the church in your diocese but rather that you deliver them to W. Manclerc, our clerk, as he will inform you. [28 Feb., 1205.]

(*f*) The King to the Barons of the Exchequer, &c. Give credit to the Sheriff of Lincoln and Walter Manclerc for 26 shillings of gold weight which they paid into our Exchequer of the gold which the Jews of Lincoln promised us. And likewise credit them with the gold which they have put into 3 rings to be made for us out of that gold. [1 Apr., 1205.]

(*g*) The King to the Sheriff of York, &c. We order you to give respite to William of Belmont of the 10 marks which he owes to the Jews of York, and make him quits of usury thereon while he is beyond the sea with horses and asses in our service, by our command. [23 Mar., 1205.]

[Similiar favour is shown Saher de Quency for a debt of 90 marks owed to Aaron (of Lincoln) and others. *Ib.* 34*b*. *Cf. supra* p. 229.]

(*h*) The King, &c., to W. de Warren, G. and Th., Wardens of the Jews, &c. Know we have quit-claimed Richard de Chiverewell of the mark required from him for the debt owed by him to Benedict, Jew of Leicester. [23 May, 1205.]

(*i*) The King, &c., to G. fil Petri, &c. Know that we have paid over to our dear William, son of Hamon, £20, which he owed to Simon, son of Jacob, of Northampton, the Jew, by a cyrograph. We therefore order you to cause those £20 to be allocated to Jacob his father from the debt which he owes us, and cause to be returned without delay to William his cyrographs, by which he owes them £2. 23 May, 1200.

(*k*) The King to the Sheriff of York, &c. We order you to quit claim Richard de Malebysse of the

usuries from the debts of the Jews, and give him respite from these debts so long as he is in our debt. Witness myself at Rochester, 1 Dec. [1205].

[Our last glimpse of Richard Malebysse is to see him hampered with debts to Jews, from which he had made such a bold stroke to free himself in the York massacre. Notice that the King reaped the benefit of this, for it is probably only as universal legatee of the Jews that John was a creditor of Malebysse.]

1204-6.—The Royal Ten Per Cent.

Fine and Oblate Rolls, ed. Roberts, i., 197, 202, 210, 231, 236.

Lincoln. Ysaac fil Joie has letters about Martin Martel for 25 marks with interest by a cyrograph, but the lord King ought to have one besant [=2*s.*] for every pound.

[The above is a common form of entry which frequently occurs on the Fine Rolls: the entries coming within our period may be thus summarised.

County.	*Jewish Creditor.*	*Christian Debtor.*	*Sum.*
Lincoln.	Elias of Bungay ..	Martin Martel	£20.
,,	Manasser Grassus	,, ..	24 m.
Somerset & Dors.	Samuel of Exeter & Juetta his wife.	Robert fil Ascelin....	6 m.
Devon ..	Amiot of Exeter ..	Henry de la Pomeray.	100s.
Wilts. ..	Samuel and Juetta	Robert fil William ..	3 m.
Lincoln.	Yvo of Lincoln....	Henry Bec...	£30.
,,	Aaron, son of Yvo	Robert de Lekeburn	14 m.
Wilts. ..	Isaac, son of Cresselin	Walter de Lodes	£10.
Somerset.	Jacob of Oxford ..	Richard de Estre	£10.
Wilts. ..	Jacob of Hereford	Odiera de Cuohill....	4½m.
Glouc. ..	Manasses, son of Deudone.	John de Acton	5½m.

County.	*Jewish Creditor.*	*Christian Debtor.*	*Sum.*
Somerset.	Jacob of Hereford	Alex. de Liuwis	4m.
[Cancelled because he is in the king's services in Poitou.]			
Somerset.	Jacob of Oxford ..	Reginald de Mentford	6m.
1205.—Roberts, pp. 249, 246, 247, 2599, 263 296, 27, 303, 315.			
Warwick	Mosse, son of Levi	Walter, son of Ralph	48m.
Staff. ..	,,	,,	48m.
Warwick Hereford	Leo of Warwick ..	Walter de Baskiewill	£32.
Northampt.	Ysaac of Stamford	William fil Ralph	£30.
Lond. ..	Vives of Paris	Thomas fil Godfrey, &c.	£30.
Hereford	Leo of Warwick ..	Roger fil Maur.....	£10.
Glouc. ..	Bonevie of Gloucester	Earl of Hereford	£10.
Suff.	Abraham, son of Avigay.	Will. de Hastings....	£20.
Somerset	Abraham, son of Judah of Paris*..	Suecon de Eston	12m.
,,	Jacob fil Samuel of Oxford.	Falcon Painel	£4.
,,	,,	Emma de Wik	100s.
,,	Josce of Bristol ..	Simon de Esinton ..	40s.
,,	,,	Alex. Hack.....£4 5s. 8d.	
,,	Abraham of Wilton and Mosse of Chichester.	Girard de Beveton....	21m.
,,	Abraham, son of Judah.	Osbert, son of William	£3 10s.
,,	,,	Robert Morni	100s.
Devon...	Deulecresse le Eveske†	John Sep	100s.
,,	Jacob, son of Yveliny and Deulecres his brother, and Sarra their sister.	Eustace, son of Albert	£8.

* Probably to be identified with the Leo Blund of the English records (*supra*, p. 88), who had by this time returned to Paris, where the Jews were re-admitted 1198.

† Mentioned in a Cartulary of St. Nicholas Priory, Exeter. *Collect. Typ.*, i. 384.

County.	*Jewish Creditor.*	*Christian Debtor.*	*Sum.*
Glouc. ..	Jacob, son of Samuel	John de Aston	8m.
Linc. ..	Jocy, son of Gentill	William, nephew of Gavin.	£17.
Hertford	Fleming and Benedict	Hugo de Baill	£8.
Notts. ..	Elyas, son of Hakelot and Abraham of Bristol.	Will. de Abetot	10m.
Glouc. ..	Elyas of Gloucester	Fulcon, son of Warin*	100m.
Lond. ..	Peter Blund of London.	Roger, son of William	£10.
Midd. ..	Flurie, widow of Vives the Bishop.	Lawrence, son of Gregory	100s.
North. ..	Jacob of Northampton.	Geoffrey le Salvage	£33 & ½m.

Early xiii. cent.—The Rite of Abraham.†

Or Sarua (Heb.), Millah, § 99.

This is the response of R. Simson, ben Abraham of Sens [on the question what is to be done if a boy is born already circumcised.]

My beloved one came into the garden (Cant. vi. 3) *to gather lilies there. They are more precious than jewels* (Prov. xx. 15), *and behold a flying roll* (Zech. v., 2) *graven on the tables* (Ex. xxxii., 16) *with deep mysteries written on both sides* (Ex. ib. 15), *deep water from the mouth of the prudent, a wise son of a wise father, in the chief place of concourse* [Prov. i. 21,=had a great circle of pupils] *he chews iron into dust* [Midr. Rab. Gen. § 93=was a great master of Talmudic casuistry], *R. Isaac, son of the Martyr R. Yomtob, the memory of*

* The celebrated Fulk Fitz-Warin the outlaw, and prototype of Robin Hood. *Cf. Nouvelles françaises du XIVe. siècle.*

† Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schechter.

the righteous be blessed. It is the modesty of the Master that allows me to answer. As to the child born circumcised, I am of opinion [that blood must be drawn to represent the blood of the covenant]. *But there is no secret that is hidden from the Master. May the peace of the Rabbi and his Law increase, and may a seat of glory be reserved for him in Heaven: his horn shall be exalted with honour.* (Ps. cxii. 9.) *Peace.*

Simson, son of Abraham.

[This is a response addressed in a very florid style to R. Isaac, the son of R. Yomtob, of Joigny, the martyr of York. Isaac was certainly in London 1186-94, where he is mentioned as "Isaac de Jueiugny." The fact that Jewish boys are sometimes born without prepuce has interested biologists in connection with the question of the inheritance of acquired qualities. It is discussed by Darwin in his *Animals and Plants under Domestication.*]

Early xiii. cent.—Christ redeemed the Church from the Jews.

Ancren Riwle, (Cam. Soc.) p. 394.

Do not men call him a good fellow that giveth his pledge unto Jewry (Giwerie) to redeem his chum [fere]? God Almighty placed himself into Jewry and gave his dearworthy body to redeem his sweetheart [the Church] out of the hands of the Jews (Giwene).

[The existence of Jewish usury gave a further opportunity for the exercise of Christian charity in redeeming a friend from debt. It thus enabled the author of the *Ancren Riwle* (Rule of Nuns or Anchoritesses) to use the above fine image. 'Giwene,' the plural of 'Giwe' (*cf.* hos*en*, sho*on*, ros*en*, ox*en*, children) is still extant in Jewyn Street, London, on the site of the London Jewish Cemetery, which was that of all England up to 1177 (*supra*, p. 62).]

Early xiii. Cent.—Jewish Code of Education.

Güdemann, *Geschichte*, i. 267 seq. (Heb.).

This is the book of the old Statutes of the Law which men of old have established for the honour of students.

I.

It is above all the duty of the priests and Levites to set aside one of their sons for the calling of the Study of the Law even before their birth.* . . .

II.

For those thus Separated who take on themselves the yoke of the Law a school shall be built near the synagogue [in the chief city, *cf.* XIV.]. *This is called the Great School. For just as preachers are appointed to pray in the name of the people, so care must be taken of the scholars who devote themselves to the study of the Law so that they perform the duty of the Law in the name of the people, and thus the kingdom of God does not go back.*

III.

The Separated may not leave the school before the end of seven years. They must be there provided with food, drink, and lodging, and waste no time on useless things in school. . . .

IV.

Every member of the Jewish community of [illegible] *shall pay two Peshitim* [pence] *for this* [illegible] *instead of the half shekel which our father*[s]

* Even to the present day Jews keep up a dis[tinction] between ordinary Israelites and those who claim to be [descended] from Aaron [" Cohens "] or from the Levites [" Le[vites "]

the Temple service and the sacrifices. So we ought to offer a tax for the preservation of the school, the support of the scholars, the payment of teachers and monitors, and the purchase of books. . . .

V.

There shall be an overseer for the scholars to fix their tasks and to notice their ability or laziness. For teachers are like day labourers that only wait till it is eve. . . . Therefore teachers must not teach at home, but only in the school. This is called the small school. . . . When the overseer notices one of the lads to be of slow intellect, he shall lead him to his father and say to him, "God grant thy son power to do noble deeds, but for the study of the Law he is too slow of intellect." Otherwise the talented boys would be kept back by the more backward ones. . . Besides the lad may go to another teacher to see if he has better luck with him.*

VI.

The teachers shall not take more than ten students in one subject. For though our Sages have fixed 25 *as the proper number of students for one teacher, that applied only to Palestine where the climate favoured the development of the mind, and for the time of political independence for in freedom the mind is lofty, strong, clear and and takes up wisdom and knowledge easier than of subjection. . . .*

VII.

shall not teach the boys by heart but from the

ncial cities, in contrast to the great school of the

book, and teach them to translate the Bible into the vernacular. The Sages used to go through the weekly readings on Sabbath twice in the original and once in translation, twice in the original for we always read anything we love twice over, and once in translation to make God's word understanded of the women and the vulgar so that perchance the fear of God might enter their hearts. So too the French Jews have the custom of going through the weekly portion on Sabbath twice in the original and once in the vernacular.

[This reference to "French Jews" shows that the code was drawn up somewhere away from France, and as Güdemann is certain that it was composed in a French-speaking country, I venture to think it may have originated in England. The reference to the capital in I. confirms this, as well as the fact that R. Yomtob of Joigny (*supra* p. 111) refers to his father and others as having been "separated." The frequent reference to Jewish "scholæ" in the English records may refer to these schools and not to the synagogues, as has been hitherto assumed. At Norwich the school was different from the synagogue, Blomfield, *Norf.* iv. 225. And for London we have an express reference to the Great School of the capital, which was in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch (*supra*, p. 236). Notice too the reference to the long winter nights in XI.: this could only apply to North France or England.]

VIII.

The teachers shall instruct the lads to translate the Aramaic version [Targum] *of the Scripture into the vernacular, so that they be practised in the language of the Talmud* [Aramaic], *and can be easily introduced to the study of Halacha* [Rabbinic Law]. . . .

IX.

The teachers shall accustom the lads to examine one another every evening in their lessons, so that they may sharpen one another's wits.

X.

The teachers should make the lads repeat every Friday what they have learnt in the current and in the preceding week. So on New Moon they should repeat what was learnt in the two preceding months. And in Tishri [September] *they should go through the summer lessons, and in Nisan* [March-April] *those of winter, so as not to forget what they have learnt.* . . .

XI.

During the winter nights, i.e. from the beginning of Marcheshvan [Oct.-Nov.] *to the beginning of Nisan* [March-April], *the teachers shall teach the boys only a quarter of the night for the winter days are short* [and lights are dear]. *Each lad shall pay something for the lights.*

XII.

The teachers shall not carry on any other profession or writing business besides their teaching. . . . *They will then sufficiently fulfil their duty, for they should exercise such a holy office with strict attention to its duties.* . . .

XIII. (B 1.)

The men of old have ordered us to buy a school near the Synagogue [*cf.* II.] . . *The Separated must pay for their lodging and contribute to the salary of the teacher*

and translator. The house is to be bought by the community, but it is to be let to the well-to-do and the separated for hire. This hire is to be applied to the payment of the Rector and monitors.

XIV. (2)

They have further ordered a seminary to be founded in the capital town for the separated, and all the communities around shall pay a yearly contribution to the keeping up of the seminary, the keep of the scholars, and salaries of teachers and monitors [*cf.* IV.]. *This school is called the Great, since from it go forth teaching and instruction for Israel.*

XV. (3)

Further, they have ordered the heads of schools not to hold their lecturing in their own houses where their wives are, but in the places set apart for the separated [*cf.* V.]. *There shall they stop all the week, but may go home on Sabbath eve, and enjoy themselves among their family. . . . They shall have two suits of clothes, one for home use and another for their holy duty in the seminary, for they must keep themselves perfectly pure for their lectures. No heads of families shall attend their lectures who do not devote themselves entirely to the study of the Law, for they have business cares. . . .*

XVI. (5).

The men of old have commanded: Dedicate the first-born [to the study of the Law] *even before he is born. . . . On the eight day after circumcision lay the boy on a pillow with a Pentateuch at his head, and the elders of the congregation or the head of the school shall bless him and say the verses: 'The Lord gives thee the dew of*

Heaven, &c.' (Gen. xxvii. 28-30). *Then the head of the school shall lay his hand on the boy and the Pentatauch and say thrice: 'Learn what is here written, practice what is here ordained.' . . Then the Father shall have a feast in honour of the Covenant and the Separation.* . . .

XVII. (6).

Further they have ordered. [*Cf. V.*] *A distinguished teacher shall direct the teachers: he may take as many as* 100 *scholars to instruct them in the law. He shall have* 100 *litres* [marks] *as salary, of which he shall pay* 80 *to* 10 *teachers and keep the remaining* 20 *for himself. He himself shall not instruct but only superise the teachers and set the tasks. He must hire a suitable school house with upper and lower storeys for the school rooms. Each boy shall contribute to the hire. This school is called the small one.* [*Cf. V.*] *Seven years shall the lads remain there, of which two shall be devoted to the Pentateuch, two to the prophets and Hagiographs, and three to the small tractates* [of the Talmud]. *They go home every evening. After this they leave their former teacher and go to the great seminary near the Synagogue. There they remain another seven years according to the rules for the Separated.*

XVIII. (7).

[*Cf. VI.*]—*The Rector shall repair to the School immediately after the morning prayer and deliver his lecture. The monitors shall attend to the lecture and after it is ended they shall retire with their scholars to their chamber. There each monitor gathers his ten scholars* [*Cf. VI.*] *round him and repeats the lecture to*

them twice. Then they take the midday meal. After dinner the monitors repeat the lesson once more. Then they all attend another lecture of the Rector on a new theme, after which they return as in the morning and repeat the lesson twice, and if there is enough daylight repeat the morning's lesson. So from Nisan to Tishri [in summer]. *In winter the lessons are in the morning and in the evening. . . After all this they go to sleep. But if the scholars desire to pass the night in repeating their lesson let them do so. . . . .*

XIX. (8).

Our sages have ordered the Elders of the Congregation to study the law every Sabbath in order to remove stumbling blocks, avoid disagreement and that they should always keep in mind the words of the living God. . . So also shall the great ones do who stand near to the government, devote themselves for six days to the roya service and on the seventh busy themselves with the Law and be mindful of the words of the living God. . . .

XX.. (c.)

How shall the boys be educated and the tasks be set by the teachers?

Our sages say (Aboth. v. 24) *at five years to the Scriptures. At that age a father shall hand him over to a teacher at the beginning of the month Nisan. The father shall expressly determine the teacher's work, saying to him, "Know that you shall teach my son the alphabet this month, the vowels* next month, and how to put them together in syllables in the third. Thenceforward shall*

* Special signs which are put under the consonants in Hebrew to form syllables.

'the pure deal with the pure,' i.e., with Leviticus. From month to month you shall increase my son's task. If this month he can learn half the weekly portion of Scripture, next month he must go through the whole. From Tammus* [June-July] *to Tishri he must go through the weekly portion in Hebrew, and from Tishri to Nisan in the vernacular. Then the boy is six years old. In his seventh year he must learn the Aramaic version from the book and not by heart and translate it into the vulgar tongue. In his eighth and ninth year he must take the prophets and Hagiographa."*

Our sages say further: At ten years to the Mishna. Then the lad is to be introduced to the Talmud at first in the Tractate Beracoth [or Benedictions] *and the smaller tractates which belong to the order Moed* [Festivals]. *For all this a space of three years is appointed. In the fourth he is 'holy to the Eternal'; for then the lad is* 13 *years old.*

Further say the Sages: At 13 *the practice of religion. . . . The father shall then take the son set apart and win him by friendly words, saying 'Hail to thee that hast shown thyself worthy of partaking in the holy work,' and then taking him to the house for the Separated. But the duty of separation only comes to the lad with his sixteenth year. Then he is taken to the rector, who lays his hand on him and says 'This is holy to the Eternal."* . . . *Then the youngster remains there seven years to learn the greater tractates* [of the Talmud].

Our Sages also say: The chief thing is not Learning but Action. And again Mishna (Menach: xiii. 11):

* As the book containing the laws of purity.

You may do little or much provided you do it for the sake of God. . . . But because the people are hunted away from Action they must console themselves with clinging to the faith. The Separated however can combine both the Law and its fulfilment in Action.

[This important Code gives a remarkable scheme of liberal education for one at least of the sons of each Jewish family, to be called the separated *(Perush)*, or set apart for the study of the law. Besides this, it would seem, though the directions are not so clear, that every Jewish boy had seven years' instruction from his sixth till his thirteenth year in Hebrew and Aramaic. Judging from the comparative frequency of Hebrew writing among the English Jews this scheme of education seems to have been adopted here. I have given reasons above (*cf.* VII.) for holding that one at least of the three sections of the Code (I.-XII.) was compiled or copied in England. But even if it were not so, I should have included it in this book for the vivid light it throws upon the inner life of French-speaking Jews at the beginning of the thirteenth century and probably earlier.]

Early XIII. Cent.—Preface to "The Book of the Onyx."

Sepher Ha Shoham (Heb.) ed. Collins.

IN THE NAME

of the Lord, the world's God—the searcher of things hidden and secret—the shaper without compass or tool—of the heaven and earth full—and we have shared his toil. By his Word He fashioned all—nor changed his plan at all.

See the past and future I join together—and enter into the issues of the matter. In the days of yore in the time of my youth—I had already opened my mouth—I, Moses son of R. Isaac,—known everywhere—as the son of

Countess [Ha-nassiah] *of the land Angleterre. I spoke of the grammar of the sacred tongue—as is the custom youths among—and named it* THE TONGUE OF THE LEARNED—*and Jews received it without a doubt—nor can I recover it though I search about. For I hastened on my way—nor would not stay—nor spoke of the words fully nor explained them enough—nor were the folk prepared enough.*

[These are opening words of an important grammatical treatise and lexicon of Rabbi Moses ben Isaac son of "Hanassiah" (probably Comitissa of Cambridge, *supra* p. 65). He termed it "the Onyx Book" owing to the anagram between "Shoham" (Onyx) and his name "Moseh." It consists of a grammatical introduction on the servile and radical letters in Hebrew, in which he follows R. Jacob ibn Ganach and a lexicon arranged according to the grammatical order of verbs, &c. He refers to R. Moses ben Yom Tov as his master. This was a known Jew, father of the great Elias Pontifix Judœorum of the thirteenth century who quotes a decision of his father R. Moses ben Yom Tov (see Berliner *Heb. Poesien des R. Meirs aus Norwich*, p. vi.). He quotes R. Joseph Kimchi, Abraham ibn Ezra, Solomon Parchon, Eleazar of Beaugency, Moses Roti. Besides these he also quotes Berachyah Nakdan (*supra* p. 167). R. Samuel Nakdan, R. Menachem of London, and R. Isaac of Tchernigov (*supra* p. 73), all of them English Jews, as well as a R. Jacob who may have been the Archpresbyter mentioned above p. 202. There can be little doubt therefore of his having lived in England, and we have been able to trace the circumstance under which his father Isaac married a Lincoln Jewess without permission of the King, *supra* p. 44. Moses was acquainted with Arabic, which increases the probability that Berachyah Nakdan was also acquainted with that language.]

Bef. 1215.—A Hebrew Inscription.

Stow, *Survey*, ed. Thoms, p. 15.

TOMBSTONE OF R. MOSES SON OF R. ISAAC.

[This inscription was found at Ludgate in Elizabeth's time, and was given by Stow in his *Survey* with the remark that it must have come from the Jewish cemetery in Jewin Street, at the time when the Barons fortified London against John in 1215. The date and everything make it highly probable that we have here the tombstone of the author of the "Onyx Book."]

c. 1279.—A long Anglo-Jewish Pedigree.

Jew. Quart. Rev., III., 561.

This Calendar was composed by Moses son of the Honourable Rabbi Jacob son of Rabbenu Moses of Londres son of the Chief Rabbi Yomtob, who wrote "Sepher Ha-Tanaim," son of the Honourable* Rabbi Moses of Bristowe son of R. Isaac son of R. Simeon, brother of R. Abraham son of R. Simeon, sister's son of R. Simeon, and he was the son of R. Joseph son of R. Simeon the Great, who lies buried in the graveyard of Mayence. May the peace of his rest be on their families and for us and for all Israel may their merits rise up* [to the Lord]. *Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah.*

[This colophon, recently discovered by Prof. Kaufmann in a Frankfort MS. of the Jewish Ritual, is interesting in many ways, which I have discussed in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* III. 776-80. It gives information about another Anglo-Jewish author—R. Yomtob. It traces back through the twelfth century the most distinguished family of English Jews in the thirteenth. It traces

* *Heb.* "Nadib" signifies a patron of learning. It is the same term applied above (p. 77) to Isaac Fil Rabbi Joce.

this family still further back till the tenth century in Germany. It also, I am inclined to think, throws light upon the remarkable dialogue between a Christian and Jew, summarised in this book (pp. 7-12). It will be observed, in the above genealogy, that the grandfather of Moses of Bristol was a certain R. Simeon. Now, in a German martyrology it is mentioned *(supra* p. 23.*)* that R. Simeon the holy, of Treves, was martyred in 1146, near Cologne, on his return from England, "where he had been many years." It is improbable that two R. Simeons should have come over to England from Germany about the same time, and it is therefore probable that this family was descended from R. Simeon of Treves. Again, of the Jewish disputant with the Abbot of Westminster it is said *(supra.* p. 7.): "I know not where he was born, but he was educated at Mayence," where was the family of R. Simeon the Great *(fl.* 1012). This would exactly answer to R. Simeon, born at Treves, if he married into the family of R. Simeon. It is, therefore, likely that the *Disputatio* gives the substance of R. Simeon's polemics with the genial Abbot of Westminster, the Dean Stanley of his day. If so, we should date it later. I fixed upon the earlier date (bef. 1096) because Anselm left England then. But he returned with Henry I., and any date before the death of Crispin in 1107 would suit the dialogue. While this reasoning is highly hypothetical, it gains in likelihood from the small probability of many learned Jews coming at so early a date from Germany. R. Simeon of Treves was one, as we know from Ephraim of Bonn. The Hagin family, as I call them in my paper on the London Jewry*, were descended from a R. Simeon, who would be of the same date as R. Simeon of Treves. The chances are greatly in favour of the identity of these two Simeons.]

* Chiefly because I believe "Huggin Lane," in the City of London, was named after one of the family.

SUPPLEMENT.

[Containing passages of uncertain date or authority, and some discovered while this book was passing through the press.]

1074.—Decree of the Council of Rouen.

Mansi-Labbé, *Concilia*, xx. 399.

XIV.

That the canonical authority and the decree of St. Gregory be kept about the Jews, viz., that they shall not have Christians* as servants [*mancipia*] or nurses.

At this council was present William, the most potent King of the English and Prince of the Normans, by whose command the above sentences were corroborated.

[This decision was emphasised at the Lateran Council of 1179 (see p. 62). That it was effective in England is shown by Richard of Devizes' statement that a woman who served in a Jewish house was infamous, and therefore unable to bear witness (p. 152).]

1079.—Jews repulsed from Ireland.

O'Conor, *Annals of Innisfallen*, ii. 81.

Five Jews came over the sea bearing gifts to Fairdelbach [Hua Brian] and were sent back over the sea.

[This is the first mention of Jews in connection with Ireland. The date is given by O'Conor 1062, but is corrected to 1079 by Mr. Whitley Stokes in *Academy*, 22 Mar., 1890. It is scarcely

* Reading "Christianos" for "Christiani" which gives nonsense.

likely that Jews came to Ireland before the Conquest of England (*cf. supra*, p. 3.) By the whirligig of time the Jews had their revenge for this repulse, as it was by means of Jewish gold, I have shown above, p. 51, that Richard Strongbow managed the conquest of Ireland.]

Bef. 1141.—A Jew burnt at Oxford.

Anthony à Wood, *City of Oxford*, ed. Clark, ii. 82.

Besides, I find another [Hall] knowne by the name of Boken Hall and, immediately after the Conquest, Doilley's Inn, owned or built by Robert D'Oilley who came in with the Conqueror: with others. The two last of which, standing near the house of Aaron son of Isaac, a Jew that was burnt, because the owner denied payment of money to King Stephen, was for that reason totally deserted by the scholars thereof.

[There were also Halls known by the names of Moysey's, Lombard's, and Jacob's Hall which have been conjectured to have belonged to Jews. In another passage (*supra* p. 18). Wood says that Aaron's house was burnt, but does not refer to the burning of Aaron himself who, we may conjecture, was burnt in his house and not of malice aforethought. Wood also mentions that the Jew's Mount at Oxford was built by them to aid Stephen when he besieged the Empress Maud in the Castle. See Dr. Neubauer's *Notes on Oxford Jews* in *Collectanea* II. of the Oxf. Hist. Soc., p. 282.]

1144.—The Martyrdom of William of Norwich.

* Thomas of Monmouth. *MS.* in Cambr. Univ. Libr.

[An important discovery has recently been made of a nearly contemporary account of the martyrdom of the boy William at Norwich. It is contained in a MS. recently acquired by the Cambridge University Library, and fills 140 double-columned leaves, divided into seven books, of which the first two relate to the martyrdom. These turn out to be the source of Thomas

Capgrave's account, *supra* pp. 19-21, which is, however, very much abridged. The name of the chief Jew concerned in the murder is given as *Deus adjuvet* (=Deuaie or Deusaie, *Heb.* Eleazar). He was killed by the friends or bravoes of a debtor of his, one Simon des Noyers. The only other Jew actually named is "Theobald, formerly Jew [at Cambridge] and afterwards monk." It was to the vile imagination of this apostate that the whole theory of the sacred or ritual character of the murder, if murder it was, is due. According to him, lots were cast at Narbonne as to the place where the bloody sacrifice should be held, and fell upon Norwich. The following extracts, which, as well as the above details, I owe to the courtesy of Mr. James, of King's College, Cambridge, who is engaged in editing this most interesting MS., give details not in Capgrave as to the fate of the Jews and the kind of evidence thought sufficient to sustain the "martyrdom" of the poor little lad who has unwittingly been the cause of martyrdom to so many Jews since.]

But some of the other Jews, not being able to bear the increasing infamy of such a charge, dispersed into foreign parts, and as the news spread died by a worthy punishment. But the rest who remained in confidence on the protection of the sheriff were either destroyed by a sudden death or delivered over to the hands of the Christians.

[The fact remains clear that no public trial was ever held on the Jews implicated in the charge, which was only spread abroad by public rumour. The Bishop Edward encouraged it, but the sheriff would not allow the Jews to appear in his court. To explain this, which practically acquitted the Jews by declaring there was not even *primâ facie* evidence against them, the supporters of the "martyrdom" invented the story that the sheriff had been bribed into connivance.]

Besides another argument may be adduced by which the belief of doubters may be strengthened. William of Hastings, formerly Dean of Norwich,

when once talking with us about the murder of the blessed martyr William, protested in truth that he had once been present at a lawsuit between two Jews. And when one of them accused the other of crimes, the other, moved by anger, turned to the Dean, and, pointing his finger at the Jew who was at strife with him, said: "Sir William, he that speaks before thee so confidently does not deserve to be heard by thee, if thou art a Christian. For he was the first to cast hands upon the Christian whom ye call the Martyr William, and slew him with bloody hands. Hence in very truth he is not worthy to remain among Christians."

[It is clear from the introduction of this passage that even among the credulous audience whom Thomas of Monmouth was addressing there were doubters. It is equally clear that he was hard put to it to give any reliable evidence of any complicity of the Jews in the death of poor little William. The mere rumour of Jewish complicity would put a terrible weapon in the hands of any villainous Jew who wished to embarrass a fellow-Jew. The materials before us are at present too incomplete till the appearance of Mr. James' edition of Thomas of Monmouth. But judging from the extracts which he has been so kind and generous as to place before me the curious result comes out that the attribution of the death of William of Norwich to Jews, and so of the long train of similar charges down to the present day, is due in large measure to the interested machinations of Jews themselves. However, we must wait for Mr. James' edition.]

1147.—Stephen protects the Jews.

Ephraim b. Jacob, of Bonn. ap. *Hebr. Berichte der Kreuzzüge* (Heb.), p. 64.

In England the King of Heaven saved the Jews through the King of England. He turned his heart so that he

protected them and saved their lives and property. Praised be the Help of Israel!

[This entry in a Jewish account of the persecution of the Jews during the second and third Crusades throws some light on a very obscure period of Anglo-Jewish history. Throughout the years 1146-8 the Jews were persecuted in France, Spain, and Germany, but in England they seemed to have escaped, even though the "blood accusation" had just been raised against them for the first time in the case of William of Norwich. It seems from the above entry that this was due to the favour of Stephen, who recovered power in England just in 1146 (Norgate, i., 336). One may conjecture that Stephen had very solid reasons for the favour he showed the Jews. Anthony a Wood reports that the Jews of Oxford gave Stephen 3½ 'exchanges' and only one to Maud (*supra p.* 18.)]

C. 1150.—A Reconversion by Rubigotsce.

R. Joseph ben Nathan, *ap.* A. Neubauer, *Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah* liii., p. 71.

This section [Is. lii. 13-15 liii.] *is applied by the heretics to the Nazarene. A very learned apostate came once into the presence of the great R. Joseph Bechor Shor: "How," he asked, "canst thou meet the evidence of this section?" He replied "O fool, thine ears shall hear that which thou utterest from thy mouth: the prophet calls him his 'servant,' but if he is God could he be termed a servant?" At once the apostate rent his clothes and rolled himself in ashes and repented.*

[This anecdote is related in a book of the early thirteenth century about R. Joseph Bechor Shor, who is also known as R. Joseph of Orleans, whom I have identified with the Rubigotsce of the English records (*supra* p. 15).]

Bef. 1152.—Jews tenants of St. Paul's.

Hist. Com. Rep., ix. 68, 50*b*.

(1) This is the convention between the Canons of St. Paul's, London, and Abraham the Jew, son of Simon. Namely that they grant to him and his heirs in fee and in inheritance, all the land which Alricus Parole holds of them near that part which Benedict the Jew holds, &c.

Witnesses—Geoffrey the Archdeacon, Richard, Archdeacon of Middlesex [became Bishop of London, 1152], Robert de Avco, &c., Abraham fil Samson.

(2) Grant in fee by the Canons of St. Paul to Benedict the Jew of one third part of the land which Alric Parole held of them and Osbert the smith before him.

Witnesses—Geoffrey the Archdeacon, Richard, Archdeacon of Middlesex . . . Abraham, son of Samson.

[I conjecture that the Abraham fil Simon mentioned above is a son of R. Simeon Chasid, who disputed with Gilbert Crispin. *Cf. supra*, p. 254.]

Bef. 1166.—A Jew three-quarters of a Knight.

* *Pub. Rec. Off. Liber Rubeus de Scacc. fol.* 112, 113.

Certifications of Knight's Fees. . . . Lincolnshire. . . . Charter of William de Romara. . . . A certain Jew in Fitelkeim [*in Fetalecima*], three-parts of a Knight.

Charter of Earl Simon. . . .

Aaron, half a Knight.

[These entries from the "Red Book of the Exchequer," kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Hubert Hall, who is engaged

in editing it for the Rolls Series, throw remarkable light on the social and constitutional position of the Jews of England in the twelfth century. They occur among the returns that were made of the King's tenants *in capite* giving the names of those who paid Knights' fees to them. This does not necessarily imply that they are knights in the military sense of the term, though in the majority of cases this was so. The above entries show that, at least in the belief of those making the returns and those entering them in the *Liber Rubeus*, there was nothing against Jews becoming knights in the feudal sense. And; with this as our guide, we can now interpret several entries in preceding pages that do indeed involve this. Thus the "Benedictus Miles" whose sons are mentioned (p. 89 and P.R., 79), was without doubt a Jewish Knight. It is possible that he is the Benedict mentioned in P.R. 91, as having detained the rents of "his lord," who would be the ordinary feudal overlord. This renders it likely that Jews held the same relation to one another. Thus Solomon de Paris speaks of Aaron of Lincoln (*supra*, p. 77) as "dominus." These entries confirm the impression that Jews could hold land and houses just as the rest of the King's subjects. We find besides a Jew making "a final concord" (p. 99), buying and selling manors (p.80), succeeding to a father's lands (P.R. 81, 121), renting land, and buying quit-rents (p. 177)—in other words, performing all the legal processes involved in the tenure of land exactly as all the rest of the King's lieges. The important thing to notice is that all this implied a right of free movement throughout the length and breadth of the land, a right which is specially granted by the Charter of the Jews (VI.). This is also referred to by a contemporary Rabbi, who remarks: "*They can move about freely, just like the Knights*" (Tos. Baba Kama 58*a*). They were indeed "just like knights" in every thing relating to the land, at least in the twelfth century.]

Bef. 1167.—Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Demons.

R. Moses of Tachau, *Kethab Tamim* (Heb.), ap. *Ozar Nechmad*, iii, 97.

Our teachers say that there are demons in the world possessing some qualities like those of men and some like those of angels. And Joseph the Demon taught the ways of Demons. And in the tractate Beracoth [of the Talmud] *our teachers give directions how to get a sight of demons. But Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote in his book: "There are no "demons in this world, but the power of the spirit that man "puts into it for a certain object is so called. When it is "written (Deut.* xxxii. 17*) 'They sacrificed to demons,' "the meaning is they removed the knowledge from it just "like idols which cause men pain* [though they do not "really exist]. *And when they say 'Six things are "said of demons' they mean human beings who know "how to alter what happens just like those who know the "principles of visions and how the soul may see visions, "and so the Chaldeans knew the horoscope of men and "reckoned and wrote what a man might dream on a par-"ticular night." So far Ibn Ezra . . . . Behold, Abraham was mistaken with regard to the demons who were always accompanying him. And from the ox* [?] *of the priest he could easily have reached recesses of power and greatness which are inaccessible even to the angels. But, even as it was, the demons proved to him that they existed. For I have heard from the children of Egland* [sic] *that he died there among them. For once he was riding in a forest and came among a number of dogs, who stood still and glared at him, and all of them were black. Certainly these were demons. When he parted from them*

he fell into danger, and fell ill and died of that illness.

[Abraham Ibn Ezra (*supra* pp. 29-38) died 23 Jan. 1167. The place of his death is said to be Calahorra, near Spanish Navarre.* But the authority for this is late, that of Abraham Zacuto of the fifteenth century, and there may be truth in the statement of Moses Taku writing only a century after Ibn Ezra's death (1260-1300). Ibn Ezra's latest works were written in North France or England; the commentary on Psalms, Daniel, Minor Prophets, and the second recension of his Pentateuch commentary in "Rodom" or "Rodos" between 1156 and 1166. The exact locality of this place is uncertain. It used to be identified with the island Rhodes, which is impossible. More lately it has been identified with Rhodez, in S. France (so Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi., Note 8). Still more recently Dr. Neubauer, by transposing the letters, interprets the word as Dreux. Against this is the fact that the last letter of this word is invariably transliterated by the Hebrew letter *Shin*, not by *Samech*, while the MS. readings do not substantiate the violent dislocation of the two first letters. I venture to interpret "Rodom" as a shortened form of "Rodomagus," the Latin name of Rouen. Certainly we can understand better why Ibn Ezra should have come from Rouen to London, which was colonized by Jews from Rouen. And if my identification of Rubigotsee with Joseph Bechor Shor be accepted we can guess that it was his congenial company that kept Abraham Ibn Ezra in North France for twelve years, as Rubigotsee had his house in Rouen (*supra* p. 217), and his son Isaac was the chief Jew of London in Henry II.'s reign. It was perhaps to visit him that Abraham Ibn Ezra paid his second and last visit to England, where R. Joseph ben Jacob heard him comment on Exodus (Graetz, *l.c.*, p. 415), *i.e.*, in the second recension after 1166. He was thus in London a year before his death nor is there any trace in his writings of a final visit through France to Spain. This is to a certain extent a confirmation of Moses Taku's statement. The above passage is noteworthy as containing Ibn Ezra's outspoken opinion that demons have no objective existence, probably the earliest statement of the kind in the history of mankind.]

1167.—A False Jew a False Prophet.

William of Newbury, ed. Howlett, i. 154.

In the fourteenth year of King Henry, *iv.*, A.D. 1167, died Robert, bishop of Lincoln, the successor of Alexander, and the bishopric falling into the treasury that church was deprived of pastoral supervision for nearly 17 years, so that it was hardly thought that anyone would be bishop again in that see. Especially as a certain convert from Thames side keep on reporting after the death of the bishop that there would never more be bishop over the Church in Lincoln. And since he seemed to possess the spirit of prophecy on account of the merit of his religious conversion and of the result of several similar predictions, it was believed by many that he would not be deceived in this matter. [Godfrey, the King's natural son, was nominated 1173, but was content with receiving the income.] And when he put off the time of his canonical consecration, not knowing how to feed the Lord's sheep, but only how to fleece them, and remained long with the title of [Bishop] elect of Lincoln, the saying of the aforesaid man began to regain credit in the minds of many. And this moved many more strongly in the same direction after a short time, when the King, repenting [withdrew the nomination Jan. 6, 1182]. But the falsehood of that prediction or opinion became shown at a subsequent period [when Walter of Constance was consecrated Bishop, July 3, 1183].

1171.—English Jews mourn the Martyrs of Blois.

Ephraim of Bonn, *ap. Heb. Berichte d. Kreuzzuge, p.* 69.

[*Thirty-four Jews in Blois are burnt alive on a charge of child-murder, though no child was missing, because the solitary accuser had undergone the ordeal of water: he swam when thrown in the water, therefore the Jews were burnt.*]

That Wednesday, 20 *Sivan* 4931 [=26 *May,* 1171], *was with willing heart accepted as a day of mourning and fast by all the Congregations in France and all the inhabitants of the Isles* [England], *according to the order of our Chief Rabbi, the teacher Jacob, son of R. Meir, who informed them by letter that it was right to establish this day as a fast for all our co-religionists, a fast more stringent than that for Gedaliah, the son of Achikam, for it is a day of atonement. This was the substance of our teacher's letter, and the Jews accepted it. And about this the hymn, "We have sinned, O Lord," was composed, which tells of that sad event, and in their hymn-books it is written, "on account of the persecution in Blois." May the righteousness of all those who sacrifice themselves in honour of the Unity stand Israel in stead for aye!*

[This shows the solidarity of feeling between the Jews of France and England at the time. Zunz, *Die Ritus,* 62, remarks that Festival Prayer-books *(Mackzor)*, which came from England are mentioned in the twelvth century, which would show that the English ritual was identical, or nearly so, with that of France at that time.]

1179-89.—Additional items from the Pipe Rolls.

* *Pipe Rolls,* 25-34 Hen. II.

189.—And [Cr.] in acting as proctor for Osanna Paupercula, who sues Vivus, the Jew, for rape,

4s. 1d., by King's writ through John, Bishop of Norwich. 25 Hen. II. Sussex.

189*a*.—Moyses of Cambridge renders count of 40 marks because he confessed he was present when that Knight was obliged to make an affidavit that he would not show the justiciars the injury done him. 26 Hen. II. Lond. and Midd.

190.—Judas, Jew of Northampton, owes three marks to have his pledge from Peter de Goldinton. But it should be required in Lincolnshire. 27 Hen. II. Hamtesc.

190*b*.—Gervaines Painel owes £22 to be quits of the bail of the Earl of Leicester against Aaron the Jew, and that he may not be distrained for the same bail. 30 Hen. II. Staff.

191.—Brun, the Jew of Stamford, renders count of £10 to have his pledges and debts of Robert de Gant. Manasser fil Joie owes 40s. for having his debts and pledges. Benedict, brother of Aaron, owes 40s. for right to the debt which Philip de Kyma owes him and for the debt of Simon, his son, for whom he is surety. 31 Hen. II. Linc.

[For last item, *cf.* No. 184 and following number. Benedict makes a further agreement. 33 Hen. II.]

192.—Ysaac, son of Sim. de Stamford, who remains at Stamford, owes 5 marks to have his debts and pledges. Benedict, nephew of Aaron, owes one mark of gold to have his rights against Joslin de Arundel and Philip de Kyma, his surety for his debts and pledges. 31 Hen. II. Linc.

193.—York Abbey . . . [Cr.] by payment to

Josce, Jew of York, of 41s. by the mortgage which he has in Hessey of the land of Thomas. 31 Hen. II.

194.—Norfolk and Suffolk. From Offerings and Pleas of the Court. Deulebenie, Jew of Rising, owes £10 for right to his debts against Amalric de Bellofago, and William de Vislon, and Godfrey brother of the Earl, and Daniel de Meday, and the Prior of Lynn. Josce Barlibrod, the Jew, owes 20 besants because he carried off the chattels of Benedict of Norwich, for which Abraham, son of Rabbi, has sureties. 31 Hen. II.

195.—Sudhantesc. From the Pleas of the Court. Cresselin, the Jew, renders count of one mark for right to £4 against William de Bonencastro. Abraham, son of Cresselin, renders count of 2 marks that an agreement between him and Tom de Treusei may be heard. Quits. 31 Hen. II.

196.—And by payment by King's writ to Mosse, the Jew, 13 marks for paying a deed of John, the King's son. 32 Hen. II. Glocestre.

[John had therefore got into the hands of the Jews. This may account for his antipathy later.]

197.—Chent [Kent]. From the Pleas of William de Nevile. Jacob, Jew of Canterbury, renders count of 5 marks because he withdrew from the court without license, and for right to his debt. 32 Hen. II.

198.—Deulesalt, son of Jacob, owes one mark because he did not deny that he offered one mark for the redemption of Deulesalt. But it should be demanded from Abraham fil Rabbi, and Isaac of Colchester, 32 Hen. II. Nordf. and Sudf.

[Next year Abraham and Ysaac pay the mark.]

199.—Lincoln. From the offerings of the Court. Joia, the Jewess, owes 20s. for right to an agreement between her and Ysaac and Samuel, Jews of Stamford. 33 Hen. II.

200.—William de Meuerdel owes 2 marks to have a writ for bringing to justice Aaron and Copin and Serfdeu and Bendonat, son of Pulcella. 33 Hen. II. Linc.

201.—Kent. New Pleas. Samson de le Nieweland renders count of 2 marks for land unjustly pledged. Benedict, Jew of Rochester, owes two marks for his false statement. 34 Hen. II.

202.—Aaron fil Ysaac owes 20s. to have an agreement with Arnulf de Bec about a certain debt. 34 Hen. II. Northantesc.

203.—Ysaac Crespin renders count of 37*s.* and 6*d.* for his relief. 34 Hen. II. Devenes.

204.—Leo, Jew of Chichester, owes one mark of gold that the dispute which he has against Ralph de Pleasint because he demanded from him forest rights (?) for his work may be heard in the King's Court. 34 Hen. II. Sudsex.

1183.—A Hebrew Receipt.

M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, No. 148.

We acknowledge that we have received a hundred litres [£] *from Payn* [Pagany Sheriff of Leicester] *the clergyman, and nine litres and five deniers* [s], *and four peshitim* [d], *the first of the four times beginning from Candeler* [Candlemas] 142 [=4942=1181-2],

and the whole we have received from the Sultan [Earl] *of Warren.*

[Not signed, but the accompanying Latin document declares that the £109 5s. 4d., had been received by Peitevin and Leo of Warwick, as attorneys of Aaron of Lincoln.]

Bef. 1184.—English Jews drink with Gentiles.

* *Tosaphoth R. Elchanan* (Heb.), Halberstamm MS. f. 48*b*.

It is surprising that in the land of the Isle [England] *they are lenient in the matter of drinking strong drinks of the Gentiles and along with them. For the Law is distinctly according to those Doctors who forbid it on the ground that it leads to intermarriage. But perhaps, as there would be great ill-feeling if they were to refrain from this, one must not be severe upon them.*

[This is from an inedited MS. from the Halberstamm collection, now at the Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate, kindly examined and translated by Mr. I. Abrahams for this work, facilities for that purpose being freely given by Rev. Dr. Gaster, Principal of the College, who also performed the same good offices for the use of Halberstamm MS. No. 345. It is a well-written parchment MS., written probably in the thirteenth century, and containing besides the *Tosaphoth* of R. Elchanan on Idolatry *(Aboda Sora)*, some by R. Jehuda b. Isaac, "Sir Leon," in which he remarks (f. 72b.) with reference to what kind of rings may be worn: "*Seal rings such as it is now customary to make in England contain a human figure*," which seems against the Second Commandment. *Cf.* the seal figured above p. 26.]

c. 1188.—Aids to relieve a Lord from the Jews.

Pub. Rec. Off.* "*Red Book*" *documents

(*a*.) These are the moneys which the burgesses of

* Kindly communicated by Mr. Hubert Hall, who discovered these important documents while engaged in editing the "Red Book of the Exchequer."

Rising gave to their lord the Earl [of Arundel] after the King crossed the straits: William the merchant 22*s.* and 5d. . . Swein the merchant as much. . Richard, son of Meta, 9*s.* and 3*d.* . . Ubert the weaver 2*s.* 1*d.* . . Anderten the cook 18*s.* 8*d.* . Ricar the fisher 8*s.* and 1*d.* . . Ricar the Lorimer 40*d.* . . Roger the miller 13*d.* . . Alvius Bissop 17*d.* . . Jueta 18*d.* . . Adam, son of Elviva 4*s.* and 8*d.* . . All these moneys [£15 19*s.* 5*d.*] they gave to the Earl of Arundel of their good will to free his land as against the Jews. They gave it to Nicholas, the standard bearer.

(*b.*) This is the inquisition of the manor of the Earl of Arundel in Snettesham, according to what his men gave after our lord the King of England crossed over the last time into Normandy when the Earl went forth to keep the Marches of Wales several times: namely, the men of his demesne gave 100*s.*, and Richard, son of Atrac, and his peers of one socage, gave 3 marks for nothing [*gratis*]. These moneys Richard, the Chamberlain of Bucheham, received, but afterwards the men of the Earl's demesne gave 2 marks for relieving the Earl's debts, and Richard, son of Altrac, and his peers, gave 4 marks, and this of their good will, and Richard, the Chamberlain of Bucheham, received those moneys.

When the Earl returned from France the men of the Earl's demesne gave 10 marks, viz.: To Richard the Chamberlain 5 marks, and to the Jew of Rising 5 marks, and again Richard, son of Atrac, with his peers, gave 3½ marks, viz.: 2 marks to Richard the

Chamberlain, and 20 shillings to Deulebenie the Jew. Again, the men of the Earl's demesne gave 8½ marks, and Richard, with his peers, gave 3 maks of one socage, for relieving the Earl's lands from the Jews, and this of their good will. These moneys Deulebenie the Jew of Rising received.

(*c.*) The vill of Ridun', which belongs to the soc of Rising, gave, as usual, within those four years after the King crossed the straits. For the armies going into Wales they gave ten marks. On the other hand, they gave the Earl, to free his lands as regards the Jews, 11½ marks out of their good will.

(*d.*) They likewise say of Henry (*sic*) de Rye, who is in the custody of Reginald de Warren. Of the son of Bokeringber, Reginald de Warren has, for paying the debt of Hubert de Rye, against Strabaen the Jew and his charter. For marrying the sister of Hubert, 10 marks, and for 1 stock of a manor. They have given it gratis.

[These entries throw an important side-light upon the effects of Jewish usury. All the other evidence in this book tends to show that the exactions of the Jews only affected the ruling classes, the lesser barons, and the monasteries. But these items show that these could pass on the pressure of Jewish usury to their vassals and tenantry. They are, probably, only a type of what went on whenever a large proprietor fell into debt to Jews; such aids would not come before the royal courts, but merely be recorded in the manorial courts. The vassals emphasize the fact that these aids were "benevolences,' given of their own free will, but once the custom was established it would be difficult to evade them. The Earl of Arundel and his chief Jewish creditors appear frequently in this book, *Cf. P.R.* 92, 111, 194, and pp. 221, 274.]

Bef. 1187.—The Misdeeds of William Wibert.

Girald. Cambr. *Opera* i., 207, 210.

In the first place, then, in his own house and neighbourhood we have heard from venerable men, the aforesaid visitors, that he was ejected from being cellarer, especially because of certain charters by which his house was in debt to Aaron the Jew of Lincoln. These he himself secretly paid off, but kept by him a long time, and claiming the ordinary usury in the name of Aaron, being himself worse than Aaron, more cruel by far, since he was turning the common property to his own use, and by this detestable fraud made his own convent [of Bitlesdon] wretched, and almost exterminated it.

[Gerald is answering the attacks of Wibert, and therefore is not likely to take a favourable view of his character. But it is clear that such a fraud was possible.]

Bf. 1189.—The Revelation of Roger de Estreby.

Gerald. Cambr., *De Instruct. Princ.*, cxiii. ed. Brewer, p. 40.

About these times a revelation was made to a Knight of Lincoln named Roger de Estreby. While he was journeying in the field he heard voices, a greater and afterwards a less, as if witnessing to one another and telling him to go to London to Baldwin the Archbishop and Ranulph de Glanvill Justiciar of England, and tell them on behalf of God to cross the straits to King Henry, and tell him to fulfil the seven commands which He had ordered him, and if he did this he would live for seven years, and seek the cross of Christ for his mercies and die happy. But if not she would not live beyond four years and

would die ignominiously. But he, thinking it a phantom, defended himself with the sign of the cross and adjured the devil to depart from him. But they whose voices were being heard said, No, they were from God, and when he asks who they were they say Peter and Gabriel. . . They asked him to sell them his heap of beans and distribute it to the poor, and they would give him 10 marks more than he had been offered. Also they would get for him the coat of mail he held so dear that was pledged to Aaron the Jew. [He says that he will believe them if a certain crucifix will confirm them; this it does and he gives some of the beans to the poor. But on his trying to sell the rest he hears the voices upbraiding him.] But when he said they had not kept their part because he had not got his coat of mail, the voices said to him "But you have it and it lies at the foot of your bed," and when he went there, he found it. . .

And after this Knight had crossed over to Normandy, after having seen many of these miracles, the King in public promised to completely perform those seven commands. [But he procrastinated.] But these are the seven commands. . . . ii. not to condemn any to death without trial. . . . vii. to expel the Jews from the land, leaving them part of their money with which they might go away and live with their familes, but they should have nought of their pledges or charters, but each man should get back his own.

[The expulsion of the Jews from France, *c.* 1182 had probably suggested the same expedient for England].

c. 1189.—Early Lawsuits.

**Pub. Rec. Off. Coram Rege Roll.* Ric. I. No 1.

Kent.—¶ Benedict Quatrebuches warranted to William de Craveham his land as a pledge of the fine made about it to a certain term on giving a ferm yearly.

Lond.—¶ A day is given to the Sheriff of London and Benedict, the little Jew, of London, 15 days from the Wednesday next after the Octaves of St. John the Baptist, at the Tower of London, and the same day is given to the witnesses whom the said Benedict has summoned, and to Radolph, son of Ralph, who says the charter is false.

Norf.—¶ A day is fixed for the Earl of Arundel, and Abraham, the Jew, son of Avigay, for one month after the feast of St. Michael, for defending the summons against Abraham himself.

[This last entry may be a reference to the case referred to in *P.R.*, 92. This would fix the date of the roll at 1 Ric. I.]

Bef. 1189.—Early History of the Norwich Jewry.

Blomfield, iv. 76, 225.

The capital messuage [in Norwich], commonly called the MUSICK HOUSE, was evidently the great messuage of *Moses* the *Jew*, a man of great wealth and ability in the time of *Will. Rufus;* he left it to *Abraham* the *Jew*, his son; and he to Isaac the Jew, his son, from whom it was anciently called ISAAC'S HALL: from him it became an escheat to King *John*, whose son *Henry* III. gave it to Sir *William de Vabres*, Knt.: it afterwards came to Ralf de Erlham.

The New Synagogue and Schools of the Jews, to which there was an entrance from *Hogg-Hill* on the east part and another on the west from the *Haymarket* by the passage now into the *Star* yard and the whole of the market from Wasteb market aforesaid to the *White-Lion lane*, is called in old evidences *Judaismus*, *Vicus de Judaism* or *the Jewry;* the *new synagogue* was built in *Henry* the Second's time, when the Jews removed and dwelt altogether here: it had a burial-place by it, and the school was at the south end of it; the house appropriated for the *high priest*, who was called the *Bishop of the Jews*, stood on the very place where is now Dr. Howman's house.

[I am informed by Mr. M. D. Davis, who has inspected the Norwich Municipal rolls, that deeds exist among them confirming Blomfield's statements. Notice that the school is different from the synagogue. The Bishop of the Norwich Jews was probably Samuel le Prestre, mentioned in the Northampton Tallage.]

Bef. 1189.—Walter Mapes refuses to be just to Jews and Cistercians.

Gir. Cambr. *ap.* W. Mapes, *Poems* ed. Wright (Cam. Soc.) p. xxxi.

When he [Mapes] was a follower of the Court and a familiar friend of Henry II., he was often associated with the justices in eyre to preserve the laws of the kingdom and to do the King's justice. But whenever the King took from him and his colleagues, in the usual way, the oath about faithfully offering justice to every one, the Archdeacon always used to add to his oath that he would be as faithful as possible in the duties of his office to all except to Jews and to white

monks [Cistercians]. But when the King, moved to laughter at this, asked the cause of such an exception, he used to reply that it would be very unjust and unworthy to display justice and equity towards those whom a wicked cupidity did not allow to do what was right and just to any one, nay, rather compelled to seize the property of others unjustly and wickedly, and to appropriate with all their endeavours and desires what was not their own by any possible way.

1189-98.—Additional Items from the Pipe Rolls.

**Pipe Rolls*, 1-9, Ric. I.

210—Benedict, brother of Aaron, owes half a mark of gold that his mortgage which he has from Simon de Kyme may be kept in the King's hand till it is decided whether he ought to have it or no. Josce, fil Samuel, owes 10 besants to have a right to his mortgage of Ouseby against Joslen de Arrundeville. Benedict, brother of Aaron, owes half a mark of gold that an agreement about his deeds may be held between him and Philip and Simon de Kyme. 1 Ric. I. Linc. (p. 74).

[See *Pipe Roll Items*, Nos. 191, 192.]

211.—Judas, Jew of Cambridge, renders count of 100*s.* because he withdrew himself from his appeal. 3 Ric. I. Canteb et Hunt.

212.—Judas, son of Deudone, owes 20*s.* to have his rights of 40*s.* against Copin, son of Benedict. 3 Ric. I. Essex and Hereford.

[Later on, 8 Ric. I. (P. R. 147) the latter is called son of Belia, Benedict having died (or become converted) in the meantime, and Copin became known as the son of his mother.]

213.—Arrears of Guildford Tallage, Essex. Ysaac of Colchester owes £390 of the tallage. . .

[And 6 others, probably all of Colchester, owe £5 13*s.* 4*d.* Ysaac was evidently a very important person.]

214.—And in Berdefeld, Deulecresse of Berdefeld £9 less 3*s.* 4*d.*; Benedict, son-in-law of Deulecresse, 4 marks; Ysaac, master of the boys, 5*s.*; David, son-in-law of Deulecresse, 4*s.* 8*d.* And in Newport, Mosse owes 10*s.* from the same [Guildford] Tallage. 3 Ric. I.

[We have here a picture of a couple of isolated colonies of Jews—one at Birdfield composed of Deulecresse, his two sons-in-law, and the instructor of his boys; the other a solitary family at Newport.]

215.—Benedict of Chichester 200 marks [for Guildford Tallage] of which Peter Blund ought to acquit him, of 50 marks by the Chancellor to have mortgage of Pallesdon and Abrugward, with their appurtenances, which the said Benedict has in mortgage. 3 Ric. I. Sudsex.

[Ten others also owe at Chichester for the Guildford Tallage (*cf.* No. 107), of whom "Vivus, the scribe of Helyas," is the most interesting. Their names are given in the list at end.

216.—Roll of the debts of Aaron. Lincoln and York. . . . Samuel, by Robert de Lunetorp, 10 marks and 53 marks. The same owes 30 m. on his books, also 30 marks and 100*s.*, a deed of Walter de Wintorp of 20 marks, and deeds of the same of £2. . . . Deudone fil Aaron owes an account of the attorneyship which Aaron made to him. . 4 Ric. I.

[There are 10 other Jewish names in a list of 183.]

217.—Northampton. Of the debts of Aaron. . . Deudone, son of Samuel, owes £62 10s. 8d. for a

charter, £52 10s. 8d. for another charter, and £10 from Philip Clark and Ralph brother of the Earl of Leicester, 40s. from Matilda de Coleville, and 15s. from Simon de Dene, 30 marks by a charter of Simon. And 100s. from Richard son of William, and £15 from the Prior of the Hospitallers, and £20 from Richard Merin, and £20 from Montalet of Northampton, and 70s. from Peter son of Adam. . . 5 Ric. I.

[This seems like a page from Deudone's ledger. I fail to understand the difference between "15s. from Simon de Dene" and "30 marks by a charter of Simon." Also it is not clear why all these £200 are included in the debts of Aaron under the name of Deudone. Did the King use Deudone to get the debts in, or had Aaron previously done so?]

218.—Robert de Baibroc renders count of 10 marks of the ferm of Bitelbroc, which was a mortgage of Ysaac son of San to the Jew. 9 Ric. I. Rotiland.

[We have seen this estate passing through many Jewish hands, *cf. supra*, p. 69, and *Pipe Roll* items, No. 164, 218.]

c. 1190.—Introduction of Benedict's "Fox Fables."

Mishle Shu'alim (Heb.), ED. PR.

BLESSED

be our Creator who gave to man a mouth to speak, a hand to write and compose, an eye to see things aloft and below, and an ear to understand wisdom.

Thus saith Berachyah, son of R. Natronai the Punctuator, who caused these Fables to bud and spring forth. How can I bear to see them destroyed. Unless I write it in a book for a memorial what would be the profit from

*my labour.** *Whether I consider myself proud or humble my tongue is as the pen of a ready writer. Would that my words were written down! The reason for my writing these Fables is the turning of the wheels* [*of fate*] *of the world which is hidden from the eyes of my intelligence. It turns in the Isle of the Sea* [England] *for the one to die and the other to live.*†

[*Truth has been deposed and Falsehood reigns supreme with all her kin and minions around her.*] *And they wrought evil so as to cut down the poor and defenceless root and branch, boughs and twigs. And those that do not thus have as their weapons of war their mouths, their lips as swords and their teeth as arrows. Thus the evil-doers are rising and the great ones sink; prayer is an offence and praise is mockery. . . . Men that despised their parents sit in their courts and castles, too proud to touch their goods with their hands but not above touching Falsehood with their lips. Puffed up with pride they covet silver and love gold. . . . And the voice of those that plot against me mocks at me, and they would put down the gift within me, using my pen as a byword. . . . Flattery is in their mouths and evil in their heart and they make an ambush within them. Sycophants mount aloft and the charitable sink below.*

When I see all this I curse the times and say

* What labour? Can B. be referring to the work he had done in helping Alfred the Englishman to translate the Fables from the Arabic?

† A reference probably to the massacres of 1190.

" Be not amazed at these our days
When wicked liars encroach on all your ways
Know that when the cat's away
The mice are sure to jump and play."

. . . . . .

In the isle of the Sea [England] *the mind of the childless one* is disturbed, and he is surrounded by shame. His descent and kin are cast down. The ear of the multitude of rich is closed to all who ask and the giver of mercy. . . . The crowd of sycophants rejoice and are glad; their voice is heard even in the company of the good: they praise the mouth that uttereth falsehood, and he that speaketh truth is cursed. And good turns to ill, sweet to bitter, light to darkness, and Berachyah cursed the time. . . . I would prefer a piece of dry and mouldy bread without them rather than share their heritage with them. And when I dwell upon such thoughts of ill my mind is disturbed and sleep is removed from mine eyes. . . .*

[This introduction, which is only printed in the *editio princeps* of Berachyah's 'Fox Fables,' completely substantiates the conclusions I drew from internal evidence as to the date and domicile of Berachyah Nakdan (see my *Fables of Æsop*, i. pp. 167-78, and *supra* pp. 167-9). Dr. Neubauer, who had previously contested my conclusions, discovered the importance of the introduction as locating B. in England, and now agrees as to the date of Berachyah's Fables as c. 1190. He still thinks, however, that Berachyah only visited England. I think the above references show that Berachyah was speaking of the persons among whom he habitually lived. A foreigner would have contrasted their behaviour with that of his own countrymen.

* Benedict himself. His son Elias mentions that he was the son of Berachyah's old age, *supra* p. 198

The above tirade is difficult to understand, and is couched in obscure phraseology, as would only be natural if Berachyah was speaking of persons with whom he would be in daily contact, and of whom he could not speak out openly. He seems to have shared the fate of most literary men in being poor and despised. His references to the insolence and greed of the rich Jews of England chime in with the Chroniclers and with Abraham Ibn Esra's remarks above, p. 34.]

Oct. 10, 1191.—William Longchamp fleeces the Jews.

M. Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, ii. 381.

Thereupon, on the following Thursday, a meeting was held on the east side of London Tower, when in the presence of the aforesaid nobles it was decided unanimously that such a man should henceforth no longer rule in England, by whom the Church of God had been put to shame and the people to want. For the Chancellor and his satellites had so exhausted all the riches of the Kingdom that they left no man a silver baldric, no woman a necklace, no noble a ring, and no Jew any treasure or anything of worth. And they had so cleared out the Treasury of the King that nothing of the last two years could be found in his boxes except the keys and empty vessels.

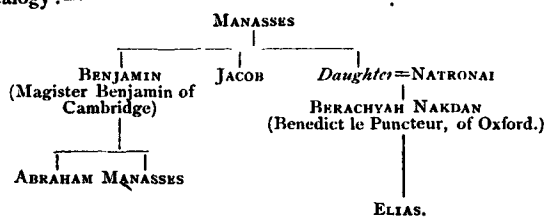
Bef. 1194.—Comments of R. Benjamin.

Joseph Kimchi, *Sepher Galuy* (Heb.), ed. Mathews, p. 24.

And I, Benjamin, am surprised at this. Why should the author explain these things in his Arabic? The method of our master Samuel should be rather adopted.

[The above is a specimen of a number of glosses attached to a grammatical work of the Provençal Jew, Joseph Kimchi, in the

name of Benjamin. Mr. Mathews, in a communication to Dr. Neubauer (*Jew. Quart. Rev.* ii. 329), adopts the suggestion that this is R. Benjamin, of Canterbury (see *supra* p. 54). Also, the R. Samuel referred to above and throughout the glosses would be R. Samuel Nakdan, on whom see *supra* p. 162. I am inclined to think that R. Benjamin's true name was R. Benjamin of Cambridge rather than of Canterbury. For there is in the records a 'Magister Benjamin' at Cambridge who was clearly chief man there (he pays the largest share in the Nottingham Tollage of 1194; see, too, Pipe Roll item No. 181). The title 'Magister' implies something more reverend than money-lending. The Hebrew transcription of 'Canteburia' would be almost indistinguishable from that of 'Canterbecria,' and the probabilities are therefore in favour of 'Magister Benjamin' being the author of these glosses. Again, Berachyah (Benedict of Oxford) in his Commentary on Job refers to 'my uncle Benjamin,' who would probably be the same, so that we could draw up the following genealogy:—



Bef. 1200.—"Rules of Punctuation."

Darke Nikud (Heb.), ed. Frendsdorf.

[Under the above title the Rabbinic Bibles contain an important treatise on the Massorah of the Old Testament, which has also been published separately by Frendsdorf, Frankfort, 1854. This has been usually attributed to R. Moses ben Isaac, the author of the 'Onyx Book' (*supra* p. 251). But at the end of the Berlin codex of the book there is the colophon, *End of the 'Rules of Punctuation' of R. Moses ben Yomtob of 'Lontres,'*

the last being a misreading of 'Londres,' or London. Now the author of the Onyx Book' actually refers to this Moses ben Yomtob as his master, and from the similarity and at times identity of the rules in the two books there is no doubt that this was the relation of the two Moses. There was an important legal writer in London named Yomtob about 1175 (*Zunz, Zur Gesch.* 193), who would be Moses ben Yomtob's father, while his son Elyas ('Magister Elias fil Magistri Moysis, Pontifex Judæorum') was undoubtedly the most important English Jew of the thirteenth century. There is still extant a Hebrew legal decision of this Elyas, in which he quotes his father R. Moses ben Yomtob (Berliner *Heb. Dicht. R. Meirs aus Norwich*, p. vi.) so that the identification is complete. With Samuel, Berachyah, Moses ben Isaac and Moses ben Yomtob, all important Nakdanim (Punctuators or Massorites), it is clear that there was a most important Massoretic school in England in the latter half of the twelfth century.]

Bef. 1200.—Two Cistercian Monks turn Jews.

Gir. Cambr. *Opera* (R.S.), iv. 139.

A certain monk of the same order, or rather a certain demoniac in our own times, being as it were tired of the Catholic faith and worn out with the sweet and light burden of Christ's yoke, and scorning, at the instigation of the devil, any longer to walk in the way of salvation . . . . . as if phrenetic and mad, and truly turned to insanity, fleeing to the synagogue of Satan. And to cut short the whole wretched story which we have dilated upon at great length to show our detestation, at last he caused himself to be circumcised with the Jewish rite, and as a most vile apostate joined himself to his damnation to the enemies of the cross of Christ.

Also on the northern borders of England, in a

house of the same order called Geroudon, a certain brother, likewise in our own days, by a similar error, or rather madness, presuming to set at naught the part of Christ and reconciling himself with Satan, opposing and exciting the mind to depravity by his depraved and pestiferous rites which he, the monk, had renounced with sacred laver and baptismal oath, and again put on his chains from which he had been freed, subjecting himself to eternal slavery as well as the punishment of hell. For he, too, fled with ruinous and ruin-bearing ways to Judaism, the home of damnation and the asylum of this depraved reprobation.

But when that man, known for his distinguished fame and extent of writings, as well as gifted with wit, Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, heard of these two having apostatised out of that order alone, wondering, he broke out in public into these words, "It is remarkable," said he, "that those two wretches, "since they wished to leave their former faith, as "being so perverse and infested with so many poi- "sonous vices, did not become Christians, adopting "a safer and more salubrious plan," as if he would say and hint, though indirectly and by sidelong words, that men of this order, on account of the stains of deliberate vice and cupidity, and their faults so manifest and so clearly un-Christian, were not worthy to be called Christians.

But I myself am persuaded that those two wretches did not leave the truth and fly to a vain shadow with damnable exchange out of mere devotion or desire

of increasing their religion. . . But because they could no longer bear the harshness and rigour of that order, and instigated by the spirit of fornication they committed this crime.

[Girald hints that it was for love of some Jewess that the Cistercians forsook both their vows and their creed. Other isolated cases occur of conversion to Judaism in the thirteenth century. These cases helped to embitter the Church against the Jews.]

Bef. 1200.—Jews falsify MSS. of Josephus.

Gir. Cambr. *Opera* viii. 65.

But it is thus clear how great is the malice of the Jews, and obstinate and obdurate teaching against their own weal, that even the testimony of their historian, and that their great historian whose books they have in Hebrew, and consider authentic, they will not accept his testimony about Christ. But Master Robert, the Prior of St. Frideswide at Oxford, whom we have seen, and who was a man old and trustworthy, whose latter years coincided with our earlier ones, was a man of letters and skilled in the Scriptures, nor was ignorant of the Hebrew tongue. Now he sent to diverse towns and cities of England in which Jews have dwelling, from whom he collected many Josephuses written in Hebrew, gaining them with difficulty, since they were acquainted with him because of his knowing the Hebrew tongue. And in two of them he found this testimony about Christ written fully and at length, but as if recently scratched out; but in all the rest removed earlier, and as if never there. And when this was shown to the Jews of Oxford summoned for that purpose, they were

convicted and confused at this fraudulent malice and bad faith towards Christ.

[There is a (late) Hebrew version or rather condensation of Josephus known by the name of Josippon. English versions have been made from Gagmer's Latin translation by Morwyng (sixteenth) and Howell (seventeenth century). But no MS. now known contains any version of the celebrated interpolated passage about Christ. Nor could this be of any critical importance except as showing that it was interpolated before the eighth century, when the *Josippon* was composed in Italy. The interest of the above passage is to show the existence of several MSS. of it among the English Jews of the twelfth century, as well as the knowledge of Hebrew possessed by the Prior of St. Frideswide.]

Bef. 1200.—English Jews are Models of Orthodoxy.

* *Shibbole Halleket* (Heb. MS. Cambr.), f 62*a*.

With regard to the law in Deut. xxii. ii. [as to the mixture of textures in garments] *R. Moses the Priest is asked whether* Kannabos *is to be regarded as "of divers sorts." On this he answers that all the earlier ones did not consider it so. In all the lands of the dispersion they had the custom of permitting it from the days of their ancestors in Germany, France, Angleterre, and Provence, where they all wear woollen sewn with* Kannabos.

[The passage is interesting as showing that the authority of the English Rabbis was considered as highly as those of France or Germany. Moses Cohen seems to have flourished c. 1196. Zunz, *Litg.* 315.]

* Kindly translated by Mr. S. Schuhter.

Bef. 1200.—R. Menachem, of London.

Minhat Jehuda (Heb.), f 4 b c.

R. Elia Menachem of London made this reckoning: A Tulmudic sus is three [pence] Esterlin, 100 *sus or the* Litre 25 shilling *and the gold* Litre 15 *pound* Esterlin.

[But the gold mark=£6 Esterlin, or the gold litre £9—see *P.R. passim.*]

Hagahoth Ascheri on *Sanhedrin*, c. 5.

When there are two days each called first of the month Friday and Sabbath, and he married on the Friday [when should the contract be dated?] *Such a case R. Moses ben Jacob brought before R. Elia Menachem, and he said he should write, "on the intercalated day of the preceding month," and Elia Menachem was pleased with it.*

[There is a Mosse fil Jacob mentioned in the Northampton Donum. In certain months a day is intercalated in the preceding month, and is called the "head" of the month, as well as the true first day. In marriage contracts, where the date had to be extremely accurate, it might cause confusion to refer to this intercalated day as the "head" of the month, and R. Moses recommended that the scribe should keep to the exact description of the day.]

Sepher Ha Shoham, ed. Collins.

And so too R. Menachem of London, "I Eliahu have written."

[R. Moses is explaining why he called his book "The Onyx Book," being an anagram on his own name; and he quotes other authors who have done the same, among them R. Menachem. The passage proves that Menachem had composed a book, and that he is identical with Elia Menachem.]

Bef. 1200.—Decisions of R. Menachem of London. *

* Halberstamm, MS. No. 345, ff 40*a*, 43*a*, 71*b*, 77*a*.

The case came before R. Perez concerning a divorce given by one whose name had been changed when he was thought to be in articulo mortis,† *and they called him by the new first name henceforth. The Rabbi decided that two bills of divorce should be written, one with the old first name and the other with the new, and the two were to be given to the woman simultaneously. I found it written in an exposition* [Midrash] *of R. Menachem of London that it is necessary to write the two names, for we find it with Jacob, of whom it is written in the Law: "And thy name shall no more be called Jacob but Israel," and yet one finds him called Jacob several times in the Law.*

R. Joseph says that if a man alleges that his wife has sinned, she is still pure to him,‡ considering the Rescript of R. Gershom [1000 A.D.] *not to marry two wives, for he may have cast his eyes on another woman* [and he cannot marry her without divorcing the other as he could before R. Gershom abolished polygamy]. *A certain woman came to ask penance before R. Menachem of London because she had committed adultery. He replied that since she had come to fulfil her obligations towards heaven, she must swear in the most solemn manner that*

* Kindly transcribed and translated by Mr. I. Abrahams.

† It is a Jewish custom to change a man's name when *in articulo mortis*, in the hope that the Angel of Death will not recognise him under the altered name.

‡ When the European Jews still practised polygamy a Jew was obliged to give a divorce to his wife if he accused her of adultery.

she had not set her heart on another man. If she took this oath she was to be divorced, as she had come to confession, but she was not to receive her settlement.

[Every Jewish wife has a certain settlement, *Kethuka*, mentioned in the marriage contract. If divorced she receives it, and as a widow it is the first charge on the estate.]

The general rule for the Sabbatical year according to R. Menachem, of London. Even if a man does not know the year of the Destruction of the Temple and the year of the [Seleucid] *era.* [Elaborate rule follows for finding the Sabbatical year.] *And with this reckoning R. Chananel and Rashbam and Rabbi Isaac agree.*

A case happened of a Jew who borrowed a horse from his neighbour and gave it to a Gentile to ride upon, and the horse was lost. Then the loser was to pay the full value. Such a case came before R. Menachem, of London, and was thus decided.

Bef. 1200.—R. Moses of London on the Passover Service.

R. Jehuda b. Jacob of London *Etz Chayim* ap. *Jew. Quart. Rev.* iv. 551, 553, 557.

"*Charoseth*" *is not mentioned in the words of the Scribes as a memorial of the mortar* [out of which the Jews made bricks in Egypt], *and this is how it is made. He takes some dates or figs or raisins and crushes them, and puts in them vinegar and makes them into a paste like mortar.* . . . [It is disputed whether the paste is to be made thick or thin.] *But R. M. of London was of opinion that he makes it thick at the*

beginning, but when using it at the service he adds some liquid, and thus he is in agreement with both authorities. . . . . But afterwards he shall bring a plate with three Passover cakes and two sorts of food. Now, according to R. Isaac of Dompaire and Maimonides, two sorts of food mean two sorts of meat, the one in memory of the Paschal Lamb, the other of the festival offering. But R. M. of London said the Law is according to Rabina, who was a later authority [of the Talmud, and therefore presumably acquainted with the earlier views], *viz.: that it may mean even a bone in some meat, but an egg would not do, for one of the kinds of food as the egg is only a memorial.*

The dietary laws have had great influence on the history of Jews, especially as causing them to be isolated from Gentiles. R. M. of London [probably R. Moses ben Yomtob (*see supra*, p. 283)] was evidently an authority on this part of the law, and is quoted by later writers as of equal importance with the great Maimonides on these subjects. The Passover night service (which is the ultimate source of the Mass and the Communion Service) is still the great family service of Jews, and every detail connected with it is of interest to them. Jews eat bitter herbs, the Paschal Lamb and Passover cakes as memorials of the Exodus. The bitter herbs are eaten twice, once separately and once with the cake and the "Charoseth," according to the practice of Hillel, one of the Doctors of the Talmud. R. Moses decided that a full portion of the bitter herbs must be eaten on the second occasion, as Hillel must have eaten it this way (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, l.c. 557).]

Coronel, *Comment. quinque* (Heb.), p. 33*b*.

R. M. of Londres writes that it is not the custom to take the crema, *i.e., the fat of the milk, if made by a Gentile.*

[These dietary and culinary questions seem to have had a special interest for the early Jews of England, *cf. supra*, p. 54, where two such cases occur, the former practically the same as the present, and pp. 146, 178. Rabbi M. may be R. Moses or R. Menachem, more probably the former, who is quoted by R. Moses ben Isaac in his "Onyx Book," so that he was of the twelfth century.]

Bef. 1200.—Decisions of R. Moses of London.*

* Halberstamm MS. No. 345, ff. 40*a*, 65*a*.

R. Moses of London decided that we certainly know it is a privilege for a woman under age that a man can receive her bill of divorce without her betrothed's knowledge. It happened thus with one who had two daughters [minors], *and accepted an offer of marriage for one without her name being mentioned. And another Jew came and received the bills of divorce that were necessary without his knowledge. And so with the wife of a convert who refuses to give a bill of divorce to her and in the end agrees to do so. Such a case came before Rashi, and he decided that the divorce should be received without his knowledge.*

[The first case evidently refers to the leading case of Sir Morell, *supra*, p. 53.]

And as for that confectionery which is called "turnures," which is made from fruits, if a Gentile has baked them, R. M. of London wrote that this is not included among the things prohibited as being cooked by Gentiles. For the fruits can be eaten raw as they are. Even if these cakes were baked in the same oven with forbidden food, there is no prohibition since they are covered. . . . Even if the dough is kneaded with eggs it is not prohibited on

* Kindly transcribed and translated by Mr. I. Abrahams.

account of being cooked by a Gentile, since the dough is the chief ingredient. And a certain great one used to permit a Gentile to cook for a Jew in his house, but this leniency is not to be approved. For if a Jew has transgressed and cooked for his needs anything on a Sabbath he must not eat it even on a Sunday.

[R. Moses was clearly a great authority on what has been called culinary Judaism.]

Bef. 1200.—Houses in the Oxford Jewry.

Christ Church Deed, ap. Neubauer, *Notes on Oxford Deeds* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 309.

Charter about various lands and tenements granted to Lawrence Kepeharm, which were afterwards given to the aforesaid Church in his will, are in different parts.

"Be it known to all. . . that I, John of Iffley, and I, Helena, his wife, daughter of Ralph, son of Auketil, have granted and freed to Lawrence Kepharm the following lands of ours in Oxford and the suburbs. . . and the land which was Geoffry Balby's, returning 6*s.* per annum, and is between the land which was Ralph Wantir's and the land of Copin, of Worcester, in the Jewry of Oxford; also the land which was Mosse's, the Jew of Brist[ol], and the land which was Deodatus', the Jew, which two lands return forty pence per annum, and these two lands are between the land which was Sewin Child's and the land which was Benjamin's, the Jew, in the Jewry of Oxford."

[This deed is of importance as identifying Moses of Bristol, the grandfather of Magister Mosseus (*supra*. p. 89). Unfor-

tunately it is undated. It must, however, be later than 1188 when Benjamin of Oxford died *(P.R.* 73), and before 1235 when Copin of Worcester died an old man with a grandson among his heirs (Neubauer, Deed No. xxxiv.). Now Benjamin of Oxford was dead when the deed was drawn, while Copin was alive. All we can determine, therefore, is that this Moses of Bristol was of the twelfth century, which makes his identity with the recently discovered R. Moses of Bristol *(supra.* p. 254) tolerably certain. We have here another confirmation of the tradition about a colony of learned Jews at Oxford who aided in the establishment of the University.]

Apocryphal account of Jewish Propagandism.

Ps.-Ingulph. *Chronicon*, ed. Gale, pp. 111-114.

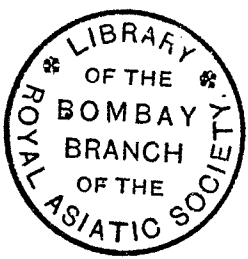
He also sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, the Lord Gislebert, his fellow monk and professor of Sacred Theology, together with them other monks who had accompanied him to England. . . . Master Gislebert being unacquainted with the English language but very expert in the Latin and French, the latter being his native language, on every Lord's day and festival of the Saints preached to the people.. . . . Some who had hitherto remained unbelievers and who were still blinded by Jewish perfidiousness, being smitten with compunction at his words, utterly abandoned their former errors and ran to take refuge in the bosom of the Church. . . .

At this time also he sent to his manor of Wedthorp, near Stamford, some fellow-monks of his . . . These oft-repeated words of instructions in the ears of the people of Stamford greatly prospered and

strengthened the Christian faith against the Jewish corruptors.

[I have included the above from the first continuation of the pseudepigraphic Chonicle of Ingulph, though manifestly mythical, as it has been used by most previous writers on the subject. The notion that William Rufus used the Jews to collect the revenues of vacant bishoprics also comes from this tainted source *s. a.* 1100. There is not the slightest likelihood of such a spread of Jewish doctrines at the supposed date of the extracts, the beginning of the twelfth century. Later on there is some evidence that Jews made converts in this country (*supra* pp.285-6). It is difficult to see why such items should have been introduced after the expulsion of the Jews, when the forgery of the Chronicle was committed. It is just possible that the reference has no bearing on Jews personally but is rather to the custom of keeping Easter at Passover, to which Bede also refers as "Judaism."]

APPENDIX.



I.—LATIN AUTHORITIES.

It would obviously be impossible to carry out in this volume the plan adopted in the other volumes of this series to include characterization of the chief authorities used. For the present volume nearly every source of importance for English History in the twelfth century has been utilised, and to describe them all would be to give an account of English historiography for that period. Some of them have been already dealt with at length in two former volumes of this series, Mr. Hunter's *St. Thomas of Canterbury* and Mr. Archer's *Crusade of Richard I.* All that is necessary is to give a bibliographical list of the books used, with here and there a word of characterization. For the Rolls a fuller account is perhaps required, and is given in the next section. The pagination added in each case gives the pages of the present book in which the source is quoted. The following abbreviations refer to various series in which some of the books quoted have appeared.

Cam. Soc.=Camden Society.

E.H.S.=English Historical Society.

P.R.S.=Pipe Roll Society.

R.C.=Record Commission.

R.S.=Rolls Series.

Surt. Soc.=Surtees Society.

For Hebrew and Jewish sources, which deserve a fuller treatment, see *infra* § XVI.

Acta Sanctorum, edit. Bollandus, &c. (the great Benedictine series of Lives of the Saints), pp. 19, 68, 70.

Ancient Deeds of the Twelfth Century, ed. Round (P.R.S.), p. 80.

Ancient Laws (before the Conquest), ed. Thorpe (R.C.), pp. 1, 2, 68.

Ancren Riwle ("Rule of Nuns," Mid. Eng.), ed. J. Morton (Cam. Soc.), p. 242.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Earle, p. 19.

Annals of Innisfallen (in Irish), trans. O'Conor, p. 255.

Anselm, St. (1033-1109), *Opera*, ed. 1744, pp. 7-12. *See* Crispin.

"Benedict the Abbot" of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici*, ed. Stubbs, *sub. tit. Chronicles of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I.* (R.S.), pp. 53, 57, 62-3, 91.

[A contemporary chronicle of the period 1172-92, attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, but really, according to Dr. Stubbs, by Richard Fitz-Neal, the King's treasurer, and author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*.]

Bernard, St. (1091-1153), quoted from Bouquet *Recueil*.

Blomfield, *History of Norfolk* (oct. ed.), quoted for abstracts of Norwich Deeds, p. 274.

Bouquet, *Recuieil des Historiens de la France*, Paris, 1738 *seq*, pp. 22-3. *See* St. Bernard.

Brompton, John, Abbot of Jervaulx, co. Yorks, end xiii. cent. *See* Twysden.

Burton, *Chronicon de Melsa* (Meaux Abbey, Yorks.), ed. E. A. Bond (R.S.), pp. 72, 177-8.

Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, p. 188, quoted for a reference to Jews in Cornwall no longer accessible.

Capgrave, T. († 1494), *Legenda nova Angliæ*, 1516, pp. 19-21.

[An account of the martyrdom of William of Norwich, which turns out to be from a contemporary account by Thomas of Monmouth. *See* p. 256.]

Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, 1887, pp. 76, 77. (Brit. Mus. Charters.) Quoted as *Cat.*

Corpus Juris Canonici, ed. Fieldberg, pp. 15, 16, 17, 184-6.

[A digest of the canonical law of the Roman Catholic Church. The part that concerns us is mainly from the *Decretum* of Gratian, who died at Bologna, 1150.]

Dialogus de Scaccario, ed. Madox, at end of *Hist. of Exchequer*, pp. 49-51.

[A full description of the finances of the Kingdom and the methods of collecting them, probably drawn up by Richard Fitzneal, the King's Treasurer, about 1170. *See* "Benedict the Abbot."]

Domesday, ed. Hardy (R.C.), p. 5.

[The celebrated census of England, so far as relates to the King's tenants, c. 1086.]

Duchesne, *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*, Paris, 1619, p. 754.

[Containing Ricord or Rigord's account of the expulsion of the Jews from France, 1182.]

Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronicle of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.*, ed. Stubbs (R. S.), pp. 47, 93.

[Mainly a compilation from "Benedict," but with additions, especially with reference to Kent and Canterbury.]

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (R. S.), pp. 57, 86-7, 123, 272 *bis*, 275, 283, 285.

[A bright and voluminous writer, 1147-1218. The passages selected are from his *Vita S. Remigii*, *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, *Topographia Hiberniæ*, and *De Instructione Principum*, the nature of which are fairly indicated by their titles. *See* Barnard, *Strongbow's Conquest*, in this series, for a fuller account.]

Gesta Sti. Albani. *See* Walsingham.

Gloucester Chronicle, *Historia Sti. Petri Glocestriæ*, ed. Hart (R. S.), pp. 45-7.

Howden or Hovedene. *See* Roger de Hovedene.

Hugonis Magna Vita, edit. Dimock (R. S.), p. 207.

[An *éloge* of St. Hugh, the Bishop (not the boy-martyr) of Lincoln.]

Historical Commission Report, pp. 177, 260.

[From the deeds still preserved in the Chapter House of St. Paul's and catalogued in Vol ix. of the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.]

Iugulph, *Chronicon de Croyland*, apud Gale *Scriptores*, p. 293.

[A pseudepigraphic chronicle, a forgery of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Inserted in this book, as it has been always hitherto quoted, and so here nailed, as it were, to the counter.]

Jocelin de Brakeland, *Chronica*, ed. Rokewood (Cam. Soc.), pp. 59, 62, 75, 78-9, 141-2.

[The chronicle utilized with such force by Carlyle in his *Past and Present*. Jocelin was a devoted adherent of Abbot Samson's and shared his violent antipathy against the Jews, which must be allowed for in reading his account.]

Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, pp. 58-9, and *passim* in notes to items from the Pipe Rolls.

[Madox's book is full of information about the finances of Angevin England, and contained a chapter (c. vi.) on the Exchequer of the Jews. I quote generally from the first edition in a single folio, at times from the quarto in two, in the latter case with Roman numeration of the volume. M. *per se* in the notes to the Pipe Roll items refers to Madox.]

Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, pp. 188-90.

Memorials of Fountain Abbey, ed. Raine (Surt. Soc.), pp. 158-9.

Palgrave, Sir F. C. *Commonwealth of England*, pp. 38-42.

[For the account of Richard of Anesty's debts to the Jews, now also given in Mr. H. Hall's *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, with a facsimile of the original document.]

Peter of Blois (1130-1200). *Opera*, ed. Giles, pp. 179-82.

[A theologian trained in France but serving in England from 1175. His *Contra Perfidiam Judæorum* was written here in the last decade of the twelfth century.]

Philip de Thaun, *Bestiaire*, ed. Wright, p. 13.

Price, J. E. *Account of Guildhall*, p. 13.

[Gives the 'Terrier' or rent-roll of St. Paul's, also given in facsimile.]

Robertson, J. C. *Materials for History of Thomas Beckett.* (R.S.) pp. 27, 42, 45, 153.

[A collection of all the contemporary lives, &c., of St. Thomas. The first extract is from William Fitzstephen's life, the second and third from an anonymous memoir in a Lansdowne MS., and the last from the *Passio S. Thomæ* of Benedict of Peterborough.]

Ralph Disset or de Diceto (1125-1202). *Imagines Historiarum*, ed. Stubbs (R.S.) pp. 112-3.

[As Archdeacon of Middlesex and Dean of St. Paul's, Ralph had great opportunities for watching events of which he took advantage.]

Richard of Devizes. *Chronicon*, ed. Howlett (R.S.) pp. 133-4, 146-52.

[Only deals with the years 1189-94 in a very sarcastic and rhetorical style. He views things Jewish from a Winchester standpoint, and it is hard to say whether he is jesting or not.]

Robert of Gloucester. *Chronicle*, ed. W. A. Wright, pp. 106-7.

[A Middle English poem of some value historically, though he does not help us much about the London riot of 1189.]

Roger de Hovedene. *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs (R.S.), pp. 62, 63, 68, 75, 105-6, 155-9.

[For 1172-92 Roger's account is mainly based on "Benedict the Abbot," for 1192-1201 it is original. Some of the passages of the earlier period occur in both authorities.]

Rymer. *Fœdera*, ed. 1816, pp. 134-8, 223.

[A collection of Latin state documents made in the seventeenth century and often including documents no longer extant.]

Stowe. *Survey of London*, ed. Thoms., p. 283.

Thomas of Monmouth, *Vita et Passio S. Willelmi Norvicensis*, MS. in the Cambridge University Library. See p. 256.

Tovey, D'Bloissiers. *Anglia Judaica*, 1738, p. 217-8.

[This is the "standard" history of the English Jews before their expulsion. It is mainly derived from Prynne's *Short Demurrer to the Jews*, with some additional documents from Madox.]

Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, p. 159. See Brompton.

Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatium St. Albani*, ed. Riley (R.S.) p. 79.

[Though Walsingham wrote *temp.* Ric. II. he bases his facts on much earlier documents.]

William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Rerum Anglorum*, ed. Hardy (E.H.S), p. 6.

[The second in order of time, *i.e.* next after Bede, of English historians as distinguished from annalists.]

William of Newbury. *Historia Rerum Anglicanarum*, ed. Howlett (R.S.), pp. 94, 99-105, 113-16, 117-30, 131-3, 264.

[William the Little of Newburgh, co. Yorks. (1136-98), was canon of the Augustinian priory of Bridlington in his native county. He is of the "philosophical" school of historians like William of Malmesbury. See the characterisation of him, p. 113 *n.*]

II.—THE ROLLS.

The Jews being, at least informally, connected with the Royal Treasury, it is naturally in the official documents or Rolls that we find the fullest and most explicit information about them. By the end of the twelfth century we find a most complete system of records by which every transaction of the Royal courts or officials can be traced. For the purposes of the present book the Rolls may be divided into three classes, those connected with the Treasury, those relating to the Courts, and finally the proclamations or public notices of the King. The first include the Pipe and Liberate Rolls with the *Liber Rubeus*, the second the Fine and Oblate Rolls, the *Placitorium Abbreviatio*, and the Rolls of the King's Bench, while the last include Charters, Patent Rolls, and Close Rolls.

I. PIPE ROLLS.—These formed the annual balance sheet of the Exchequer in account with the Sheriffs of the different counties. These entries were made on a continuous roll as each Sheriff passed his accounts at the Exchequer Board, when it was checked by means of a kind of abacus, hence the name. Three copies were taken, one for the Chancellor *(Rotulus Cancellarii)*, one for the Treasurer, and the third, called the Pipe Roll, from its shape, for the King. Each Sheriff had to account to the King in the first place for the "ferm" of his county, and then for the pleas and conventions that had taken place during his year of office, the fines for which were generally paid through the Sheriff. If these were not paid in full the balance was carried

on from year to year. The Sheriff is debited with the "ferm" and then credited with his payments. Thus, to quote instances which happens to contain a reference to the Jews not contained in this book, I may give the passage relating to the old "ferm" of London, 5 Hen. II. (*Cf.* Pipe Roll Society, *Introduction*, p. 9).

LONDON.

Reiner, the son of Berengarius, and his associates [Dr.] render count of £200 73*s.* 5*d.*, white money, for the old ferm of London.

[Cr.] By payments by King's writ to the Jews of London, £126 13*s.* 4*d.* And by payments to the Knight of Hereford in Wales, £18 19*s.* 4*d.* And to William Cade, 13*s.* 9*d.*

And he [Reiner] owes £48 17*s.* 4*d.* white.

A similar and important payment to Jews occurs in the Pipe Roll 20 Hen. II., as given in *Calendar Docs. Scotl.*, i. p. 19.

Hampshire.—And paid by same [Richard de Luci's] writ to Habraham and Cresselin and Judas and Ysaac and Jornet his brother and Jacob son of Ursel, Jews of Winchester, 20 marks, which they had lent to send to Carlisle on the King's business.

It is, however, chiefly with reference to the entries relating to the fines of the courts that we find specific details about the Jews. These always occur for the first time under the heading, *Nova Oblata*, *i.e.*, new offerings of defendants recently put at the King's mercy and willing to buy the same at a price. The Sheriff was responsible for the collection of these fines, and therefore reports them to headquarters at the Exchequer at Westminster, even if they are not paid (and very often they are

never paid). The Pipe Rolls are extant for one year of Henry I., and continuously from 2 Hen. II., 1155. Of the early Rolls 31 Hen. I. and 2, 3, 4 Hen. II., 1 Ric. I. and 3 John, have been edited by Hunter (R.C.); 5-13 Hen. II., by the Pipe Roll Society. For the inedited 35 rolls, 13-36 Hen. II., 2-10 Ric. I., I have gone through the originals at the Record Office, and picked out all that I could find of Jewish interest. A few items from those years are drawn from Madox, *History of Exchequer*.

As these items form the backbone of this volume, and are invariably referred to by the number of the items as they originally appeared in the *Archæological Review*, Feb., 1889, it seems desirable to give a list of the numbers and the pages on which they occur. Nos. 189-218 have not appeared before.

P.R.	Regnal year.	pp.	P.R.	Regnal year.	pp.
1-5	31 Hen. I.	14-5	105-122	3 Ric. I.	142-5
6-10	2-6 Hen. II.	28-9	123-128	4 ,,	153-5
11-15	12-15 ,,	43-5	129-138	5 ,,	159-61
16-17	16 ,,	51-2	140-148	6-8 ,,	174-5
20-27	18-22 ,,	55-7	150-162	9 ,,	182-4
28 33	23-5 ,,	64-6	163-172	10 Ric. I., 1 Jo.	192-6
34-47	26-8 ,,	72-4	173-176	2, 3 Jo.	210
48-66	29-32 ,,	82-4	180-88	4-6 Jo.	218-21
67-72	32-3 ,,	90-1			
73-92	34-6 ,,	95-8	189-204	25-34 Hen. II.	265-68
91-104*a*	1, 2 Ric. I.	138-41	210-218	1-9 Ric. I.	276-78

It may be well to add that the 31st regnal year of Henry I. ran from 5 Aug., 1129, to 4 Aug., 1130; the first year of Henry II. ran from 19 Dec., 1154, to 18 Dec., 1155; of Richard I. from 3 Sept., 1189, to 2 Sept., 1190; and of John from 27 May, 1199, to 26 May, 1200.

II. LIBERATE ROLLS (*Cf.* pp. 228-31).—Sums could only be paid out of the Treasury or documents delivered from it on

delivery of a King's writ, which invariably began after the salutation to the Barons of the Exchequer with the emphatic order "Liberate," "deliver up." Copies of these writs were entered on a Roll, which was called *Rotulus de Liberate;* those for 2, 3, 5 Jo were printed by Sir T. D. Hardy (R.C.). The writs were often also entered on the Patent Roll; hence we find entries duplicated, as that relating to Saher de Quency (perhaps an ancestor of Thomas de Quincey) on pp. 222 and 229.

III. LIBER RUBEUS DE SCACCARIO (*Cf.* pp. 186-7, 260-269.) —The "Red Book of the Exchequer" contained a miscellaneous number of lists (of Knights' fees, &c.), and enactments (as that of the Stannaries, *supra* p. 186), likely to be of use to the officials of the Exchequer. It is now being edited by Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Record Office.

IV. FINE AND OBLATE ROLLS (pp. 199-202, 211, 215, 231-4).—As a link between the Exchequer and the law-courts, the Oblate and Fine Rolls contain lists of the offerings *(oblata)* or fines made to the King to obtain certain privileges or evade various penalties. These were called oblations at first and afterwards fines. As they were often collected through the sheriffs, the same entries sometimes occur in the Pipe Rolls. The earliest Oblate and Fine Rolls were edited by J. R. Roberts for the Record Commission.

V. ROTULI CURIÆ REGIS (pp. 175-7, 191-2).—The trials brought before the King's Bench were recorded on special Rolls. Those for 6 Ric. I.—1 Jo. were edited by Sir F. C. Palgrave for the Record Commission. The passages on p. 262 are from an unprinted Coram Rege Roll at the Record Office.

VI. PLACITORUM ABBREVIATIO (pp. 165, 216).—An abstract of the Rotuli Curiæ Regis from Ric. I. to Ed. II. was made by Agard and other Elizabethan antiquaries, preserved at the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey, and printed by the Record Commission 1811.

VII. CHARTER ROLLS (pp. 202-4, 206-7, 208-9, 212-5, 217, 239-41).—Contain the more formal and public pronouncements of the King, granting privileges, &c., to his subjects—*e.g.*, the great charter of the Jews confirmed by John was entered on the Charter Roll. Those of John were edited for the Record Commission by Sir T. D. Hardy 1837.

VIII. PATENT ROLLS OR ROTULI LITERARUM PATENTIUM (pp. 205, 221-3, 225-6).—Contain the open or more public letters of the King addressed to his subjects, and ordering them to do something or granting them some right or privilege. Letters patent differ from royal charters in being somewhat less formal or important. Sir T. D. Hardy edited the earliest Patent Rolls (R. C. 1833.)

IX. CLOSE ROLLS OR ROTULI LITERARUM CLAUSARUM (pp. 237-9).—Contain the closed or more private letters of the King addressed to his subjects, and of less public interest or importance than charters or close Rolls. Those for John's reign were edited by Sir T. D Hardy (R. C. 1833).

Other documents of a more private character, as feet of fines, &c., are described in the next section.

III.—JEWISH BUSINESS AND DEEDS.

It is possible from the materials given in this volume to obtain a tolerably clear idea of the way in which the Jews conducted their business of usury. In several instances we have an extremely full account of the whole history of a transaction or set of transactions, *e g.* those of Richard Anesty, pp. 38-42, of the Abbey of St. Edmund's, pp. 59-62, or of Benedict Pernëz, pp 188-90. We can indeed trace the whole course of a debt from its beginning to the final payment to the Jews or to the King.

It may be safely said that the only persons in want of coined money in the Kingdom were of the upper classes, *i.e.*, the nobles,

gentry, and clergy. The vast mass of the people lived by barter, and had no need of coin. But the smaller nobles and gentry, if they wished to conduct a law-suit, or equip their retainers, or go on a crusade or build a castle – and no less than 1,115 of these were erected in Stephen's reign—or erect a church, would have to get money from the Jews, who were the only large holders of it in the Kingdom. There were a few Christians who lent money without interest, *e.g.*, William Fitz Isabel was the largest creditor of the Abbey of St. Edmond's (*supra* p. 58), but for the most part resort had to be made to the Jew.

As a general rule the security was good, *i.e.* landed property, but this was of little use to the Jew, who could not hold it under an overlord. The aim of the Jew, therefore, was to get a ready money return of some sort, chiefly of course the rent of the land usually paid by the vassals of the debtor. In one case, and that the earliest on record (p. 66), the money was to be returned in the form of so many soams of hay, which was a very marketable commodity: in this case no mention is made of usury, though probably the value of the hay was higher than that of the money lent. Similarly we have frequent mention of loans to be repaid in a series of years without any payment of usury (pp. 67, 80, 88, &c.), if the instalments are paid up to date. In such cases we may suspect that the sum mentioned in the deed and to be repaid was really much more than the sum lent (*Cf.* remarks on pp. 80, 228). Generally, however, usury is to be paid straightway, as in the case of Richard Anesty. The amount of usury varies from twopence in the pound per week (*i.e.* about 43 per cent. per annum) to fourpence (*i.e.* 86 per cent.), while a penny and threepence also occur (p. 88).

But this high rate seems only to have been current when the Jew did not have his pledge and mortgage. It naturally soon led to a state of affairs when the payment of interest became

intolerable, and the creditor found it necessary to make a fine with the Jew, *i.e*, capitalise the interest, add the principal, and start afresh. He might do this either allowing interest again to accrue (as was done at St. Edmond's), or for a time the Jew could collect the rents till the whole was paid off (187), or the estate was saddled with a yearly rent to the Jew till the debt could be paid off (*Cf.* pp. 188, 227). In this case the interest on the capitalised sum was tolerably moderate; 12½ per cent. (p. 70), 13⅓ per cent. (p. 80). 10 per cent. (p. 188), 7½ per cent (p. 227), though in case of non-payment of the interest stringent conditions are imposed (pp. 80, 227).

But things did not always go so smoothly in the arrangement of a long-standing debt. Merely to have his right recognised to a debt the Jew had often to recur to the King's courts (see *Contributions*, §§ 15, 16), as also for a writ to remind his debtor (p. 200). When the debtor failed to pay up and incurred forfeiture of his land, the Jew had often to get the King's court to give him seisin or possession (27, 69), or applied for an assize of novel disseisin (65). Legal aid was also at times required to ensure a Jew being recognised as the owner of a piece of land (90), or to have right against the estate of a deceased debtor (153). And when the courts had declared for the Jew their assistance had often to be invoked to have the goods of a debtor distrained (181).

It is clear from the above that there was nothing against the Jews holding land, at least in the twelfth century. The records for that period are not at all full, my extracts are probably not complete, we only get information as a rule when there is some legal dispute about the property. Yet with all this I have been able to draw up the following list of manors * on which Jews

* When expressly mentioned as mortgaged. It is probable that many of the manors which gave names to the Jews' debtors were also pledged. But of this we cannot be certain.

held liens. To these I have added houses known to be in Jewish hands and the names of abbeys with which Jews had dealings either in helping them to build (probably on security of their land) or in passing on to the abbeys debts due to Jews. To distinguish the items I have placed *m* after the names of manors, *h* after houses in towns, *ab* after names of abbeys (or monasteries in a couple of instances); A indicates that the property or debt is included in the debts of Aaron of Lincoln, which fell into the King's hands. Many of these occur 15 years after his death in the *Rotulus Cancellarii* of 3 Jo. (*R.C.*)

Abrugward, *m.*	Sussex	215
Androdesdy, *m.*	Warw.	129 A.
Bainton, *m.*	Yorks.	p. 71 A.
Barewe, *m.*	Linc.	51.
Barton	Linc.	p. 76 A.
Bellegarve, *m.* (*Belgrave*)	Leic.	129 A. *Lib.* p. 54 A.
Bettledon, *ab.*	Bucks.	p. 99 ?—p. 108 A.
Bisebrok, *m.*	? Rutland	p. 67 A., 164, 218
Blenford, *m.*	Dors.	127 A.
Bludeie, *m.*	Bucks.	*Rot. Canc.*, 3 Jo. p. 344 A.
Bosinton, *m.* (*Bossington*)	Hants.	69
Bridiport, *m.*	Hants.	*R.C.* p. 244 A.
Burneham, *m.* (? *B. Thorpe*)	Norf.	*R.C.* p. 326 A.
Cary, *m.*	Somerset	p. 233
Cassewell, *m.*	Linc.	*R.C.* p. 171 A.
Certesia, *ab.*	Surr.	*R.C.* p. 39 A.
Colingburn, *m.*	Wilts.	129 A.
Compton, *m.* (*Long C.*)	Warw.	129 A.
Cumberton, *m.*	Camb.	p. 191
Esling, *m.*	Linc.	51.
Everley, *m.*	Wilts.	129

Exton, *m.*	Northampt.	*Cal. Doc. Scot.* p. 33A
Feringes, *m.*	Linc.	*R.C.* p. 171 A.
Fikelheiw, *m.*	Linc.	p. 260
Finmere, *m.*	Oxon.	p. 99
Ford Abbey	Devon	p. 191 *n.*
Hakemot, *m.*	Warw.	129 A.
Hales, *m. (Halesowen)*	Worc.	188
Hame, *m. (E. & W. Ham ?)*	Essex	p. 135
Haston, *m.*	Beds.	p. 216
Herlham, *m.*	Norf.	p. 165
Hessey, *m.*	York	194
Huc, *m.*	York	p. 227
Kingston, *m.*	Dors.	129 A.
Kirkstal, *ab.*	York	p. 108 A.
Kirksted, *ab.*	Linc.	p. 108 A.
Langeberga *(?Longborough)*	York,	*R.C.* p. 286 A.
Lockerlai *(Lockerley)*, *ch.*	Hants.	*R.C.* p. 244 A.
London, *h.*	Middl.	pp. 177, 231, 234, 255
Lynn, *ab.*	Norf.	194
Malesward, *m.*	? Middl.	90
Mapledore Well, *m.* (*Mapledorwell*).	Hants.	69
Meaux, *ab.*	York	pp. 58 A., 177
Melcburne, *m.*	Hants.	*R.C.* p. 244 A.
Nessenwick, *m. (Neswick)*.	Yorks.	p. 71 A.
New Minster, *ab.*	Northumb.	p. 108 A.
Newtone, *m.*	Yorks.	p. 62, *Cf. R.C.* p. 285 A.
Normanton, *m.*	Leic.	129 A.
Norton Church.	Norf.	p. 222
Northampton, *h.*	Northpt.	p. 206
Norwich, *h.*	Norf.	p. 94

Oreford, *m.*	Suff.	*R.C.* p. 327 A.
Ouseby, *m.*	Linc.	210
Oxford. *h.*	Oxon.	*R.C.* p. 277 A.
Parcolude *(Louthpark)*. *ab.*	Linc.	p. 108 A.
Pallesdon, *m.*	Suss.	215
Paxton, *m.*	Northamp.	*Cal. Doc. Scot.* p. 33 A
Persora, *ab. (Pershore)*.	Worc.	126
Peterborough, *ab.*	Northampt.	p. 57
Pikering, *m.*	Yorks.	*R.C.* p. 286 A.
Porligelode, *m.*	? Yorks.	p. 216
Pornewich, *m.*	Bucks.	*R.C.* p. 344 A.
Ramsey, *ab.*	Hunts.	99*b*
Revesby, *ab.*	Linc.	p. 108 A.
Rievale, *ab.*	Yorks.	p. 108 A.
Rowell, *m.*	? Glouc.	92
Ridun, *m.*	Norf.	p. 271
Rising	Norf.	p. 270
Ruford, *ab.*	Notts.	p. 108 A.
Rupe *(Roche)*, *ab.*	Yorks.	p. 108 A.
St. Edmond's, *ab.*	Suff.	pp. 59, 78, 141
St. Alban's, *ab.*	Herts.	p. 79
Seldton *m. (? Selston)*.	Notts.	129 A.
Sepwich, *m.*	Warw. ?	129 A.
Seton, *m.*	Yorks.	p. 178
Shepchurch, *m.*	Warw ?	129 A.
Snettesham, *m.*	Norf.	p. 270
Southampton, *h.*	Hants.	*R.C.* p. 244 A.
Stiveclay, *m.*	Northamp.	*Cal. Doc. Scot.* p. 33 A
Thurroc *(E. & W. Thurrock)*.	Essex	p. 135
Tottenham *m.*	Middl.	p 80
Turnsdeston, *m.*	Warw. ?	p. 9 A.

Turnay, *m.*	? Cumberl.	*Cal. Doc. Scot.* p. 32 A
Waltham, *ab.*	Essex	Mad. *Exch.* i.
Wapstede, *m.*	? Suff.	p. 62
Wartrey, *m.*	Yorks.	p. 178
Westminster Abbey.	Middl.	2
Wharum *(Wharran).*	Yorks.	p. 71 A.
Wikingston, *m.*	Warw.?	129 A.
Winchester, *h.*	Hants.	125*a* A., 131, p. 206
Witham, *m.*	Linc.	p. 189

The striking thing about this list is the predominence of Aaron of Lincoln: exactly half of the entries refer to him. This is due to some extent to the fact that his estates fell into the King's hands, and therefore were enrolled on the King's records. But it was precisely because of their magnitude that the King kept them in his own possession instead of passing them on for a consideration to Aaron's son Vives. It is clear on all hands that Aaron was the leading financier of his time. His treasure, which was lost in the Channel, must have been very large, and he left besides nearly £20,000 worth of indebtedness (including the Cistercian debt, p. 108) which passed to the King. And there are certain indications which show in what way his huge wealth was acquired. He organised the Jewry in the sense of making all the Jews throughout the country his loan-agents. Thus Solomon of Paris (p. 77) signs a receipt for his master Aaron; Peytevin and Leo (p. 269) are only his attorneys. As early as 1166 we find him doing business (obviously through agents) in Lincoln, Norfolk, Yorkshire, Hants, Essex, Rutland, Cambridge, Oxford, and Bucks. His example was followed by Isaac fil Rabbi, whom we find in partnership with him (24), for we find Benedict Bressus receiving money on behalf of Isaac (p. 76). The whole body of Jews were banded together in one banking corporation, trading in a few names, like Aaron of

Lincoln, Isaac fil Rabbi, Jurnet of Norwich, and Brun of London.

They were not, however, allowed by the King to have partnerships. Jurnet and Isaac tried to do so, but were not allowed (23). The reason is tolerably obvious: when one of the partners died, debts due to the firm would not fall into the King's hands, as would be the case with an ordinary debt due to a single Jew who happened to die. And it was to the interest of the debtor that the debt should fall into the King's hands, for he might then compound for the debt at a much smaller sum than was owed to the Jew (pp. 108, 211). It was doubtless for this reason that debtors were willing to pay such high interest: if the Jew died before payment was enforced, the debtor might escape for a much smaller sum paid to the King. It was, as I have said, a kind of bet taken against the life of the Jew, and the York massacres were in this sense a huge case of "nobbling." On the other hand, it was better business for the King in the long run to pass on the indebtedness to another Jew (125, 130), for while in the King's hands it bore no interest.

For this last reason, no obstacles seemed to have been placed in the way of Jews passing on debts from one to another (*Cf.* 113, 164, 215, 218). In this way a certain amount of transactions in credit must have gone on, corresponding in a measure with the stock and share markets of later times. The deeds of indebtedness passed from one Jew to another as a medium of exchange, and thus increased the circulation. We have instances of debts to Jews in England being collected from debtors in Normandy (49); if such debts also passed from hand to hand among the Jews, we would have here the germ of bills of exchange.

It is by no means clear how the somewhat complicated estimates involved in the calculation of usury were performed; probably by means of an abacus (Ball, *Mathematics at Cam-*

bridge, p. 2). Cases occur of debts being again demanded when already paid (48, *Cf.* 110). To avoid such an accident debtors often had their *Shetars* or acquittances enrolled on the Pipe Roll (163*a*, *Cf.* p. 58), or to have a general acknowledgment similarly inscribed (164*a*). The accusation of falsity of charters was frequent against the Jews in the thirteenth century, but there was scarcely any need for such means of getting the debtors in the toils. The automatic increase of interest would be sufficient by itself, and would naturally give rise to suspicion of foul play in minds unaccustomed to calculate compound interest.

The DEEDS in which these various transactions were recorded were mainly of two kinds, an acknowledgment on the part of the debtor or a release on the side of the Jew. The former were at first called simply charters *(cartæ)* or deeds, but later became known as *cyrographs*, which were in duplicate written on one piece of parchment, with the two copies of the bond separated by the word CYROGRAPHVS written large. This was then cut through with a zigzag contour, so that the two parts on being put together exactly tallied. This was to prevent the substitution of a different deed. The Jewish keeper of these deeds was called a cyrographer (*Cf.*, p. 234).

The receipts of the Jews were called "Starrs" *(Starrum)*, after the Hebrew *Shetar*, or "contract." As is well known, the Court of Star Chamber of later times is supposed to have derived its name from being held in the chamber where the old Jewish Starrs used to be deposited. This is to some extent confirmed by the fact that the folk-etymology of the name refers it to an imaginary sky-blue ceiling adorned with stars, of which there is no evidence. It was Blackstone who first suggested the other etymology. Specimens of *cartæ* are given on pp. 66-7, cyrographs on p. 227, starrs on pp. 58, 76, 77.

Besides these deeds specially devoted to Jewish debts we

find Jews concerned in others of a more general character. Thus we find Jurnet, of Norwich, occurring in one of the earliest "Feets of Fine" (p. 94). This is a record of a fictitious action between landlord and tenant, so as to put on record the transaction by which the land or house changed hands. The Deed of Mortgage on p. 80 is of an ordinary type, nor is there anything specific about the covenant of p. 99: both are "common form" of the period as recorded in such law books as Glanville or Fleta.

IV.—MONEY AND VALUE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

This book is so full of reference to sums of money that it is desirable to get some definite idea of what is implied by the various sums mentioned. When it is said that £5 was paid or lent by a Jew, what command of services and commodities is represented by that sum? Would it buy as much, or more, or less, than could be purchased nowadays for £100? In short what is the "index-number," as the economists call it, of the nineteenth century as compared with that of the twelfth? What constant multiplier should be used on the sums mentioned in this book in order to represent more approximately the sums they would be equivalent to at the present day? The question is a difficult one, the materials are extremely scanty, and any result reached must be only roughly approximate. But any result is better than none.

In the first place, as to the money itself. The coin actually used was the silver denarius or penny, but accounts were reckoned in solidi (shillings) and libræ (pounds), though only paid in denarii. Reckoning the solidus at 12 denarii, the weight of silver in a solidus (if it had existed) was three times as much as it contains now. Whereas 66 shillings are minted from one pound of silver nowadays, only twenty shillings worth of denarii

could be obtained from that weight of silver in the twelfth century. This fact must be taken into account in considering the "index-number" of the twelfth century, though it would not directly affect it, if all we have to deal with was the *nominal* value of merchandize, &c.

The only way of obtaining an "index-number" out of the many methods proposed by economists, and discussed in Prof. Edgeworth's three Reports on the subject in the Transactions of the British Association for 1885-7, is that termed by him the Indefinite Standard. This is defined as "a simple unweighted average of the ratios formed by dividing the prices of each commodity in the one period by the price of the same commodity in the other period" (*Brit. Ass. Rep.* 1887, p. 163). In the twelfth century this is only possible for a few articles of food, &c. Thorold Rogers' classic inquiries into the History of Prices only begin with 1259. Fleetwood, *Chronicon Preciosum*, Eden, *State of the Poor*, and Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* only give a few items, to which I have been able to add little. As against these I have given the nineteenth century prices (1800-85) given in Mulhall, *Dict. of Statistics* (probably from the *Statistical Abstracts;* I have supplied lacunæ from these). It must be remembered that the latter are wholesale, the others probably retail prices.

Article.	Dates.	Prices, XII. Cen.	Price 1800-85.	Authorities.	Multiplier.
Wheat, *qr.* ..	*temp.* H. II.	1*s.* 0*d.*	£2 16*s.* 0*d.*	Stow, *Annals*, s. *a.*, 1205	56
" " ..	famine years				
	1197, 1202	13*s.* 4*d.*	.. .. ..	*Ann. Mon.*, i. 57; ii. 65	4
	1172	6*s.* 8*d.*	.. .. ..	Dugd. *Warw.*, 342	8
" " ..	*temp.* H. II.	0*s.* 4*d.*	£1 3*s.* 0*d.*	Stow, *l. c.*	69
Oats, *qr.*	famine, 1202	16*s.* 0*d.*	.. .. ..	*Ann. Mon.*, ii. 65	1.5
" " ..	*temp.* H. II.	1*s.* 0*d.*	£14 0*s.* 0*d.*	*Dial. Scac.*, i. 7	280
Ox	1145, 1198	3*s.* 0*d.*	.. .. ..	M. Paris, *Vitæ*, 63; Madox, *Exch*, ii. 132	93.3
"	1182	5*s.* 0*d.*	.. .. ..	Madox, i. 535	56
"	1194	4*s.* 0*d.*	.. .. ..	Wilkins, *Leg. Ang. Sax.*, 34, 71 ..	70
"	1197	3*s.* 0*d.*	.. .. ..	Mad., *Exch.*, ii. 132	93.3
Horse	1194	4*s.* 0*d.*	£30 0*s.* 0*d.*	Wilkins, *l. c.*	150
" (mare) ..	1185	3*s* 6*d.*	.. .. ..	Mad., *Bar. Ang.*, c. iv. 7	172
Sheep	*temp.* H. II.	0*s.* 4*d.*	£1 5*s.* 0*d.*	*Dial. de Scacc.*, i. 7	60
"	1185	0*s.* 11*d.*	.. .. ..	Mad., *Bar. Ang.*, c. iv., p. 75	27
"	1182	0*s.* 9½*d.*	.. .. ..	Mad, *Exch.*, i. 535	32
"	1185	0*s.* 6*d.*	.. .. ..	" " ii. 152	50
"	1197	0*s.* 4*d.*	.. .. ..	" " ii. 132	75
Hog	1185	1*s.* 0*d.*	£1 10*s.* 0*d.*	Mad., *Bar. Ang.*, 75	30
Hen	1185	0*s.* 0½*d.*	£0 1*s.* 6*d.*	Dugd., *Mon.*, v. li. 528	36
"	1185	0*s.* 0¾*d.*	.. .. ..	Mad., *Bar. Ang.*, 75	24
Wine *(gall.)* red	1199	0*s.* 6*d.*	£0 7*s.* 0*d.*	Fleetwood, *Chron. Precios.*	14
" white ..	1199	0*s.* 8*d.*	£0 8*s.* 0*d.*	" "	12
Wool, *lb.*	1199	0*s.* 2*d.*	£0 1*s.* 6*d.*	*Ann. Burton*	9
Canvas, *ell*.. ..	1176	1*s.* 0*d.*	£0 1*s.* 3*d.*	Mad, *Exch.*, x. §2	1.25
Cloth, *ell* (aver.)	1175	4*s.* 2*d.*	£0 3*s.* 9*d.*	" " i. 367	9
Boots *pr.* (King's)	1172	1*s.* 6*d.*	£2 10*s.* 0*d.*	" " x. § 12	33.3
Iron, *cwt.*	1174	0*s.* 9*d.*	£0 3*s.* 1*d.*	" " i 370	4
Steel, *cwt.*	1174	0*s.* 9*d.*	£1 10*s.* 6*d.*	" " "	40
Nails 'crowned,' 1000	1176	2*s.* 6*d.*	£0 8*s.* 6*d.*	" " x. § 12	3.4
"	1172	1*s.* 9*d.*	.. .. ..	P. R. 19 H. II., Glocestre	7.8

Taking the average of the multipliers or "index-numbers," this would give us about 46 as the "index-number" of the latter half of the twelfth century. But we have sinned against the rule of our method, which bids us take each article only once. And besides this, the additional values we have given for the cereals have mainly been for famine years, which reduces the average. Making rough estimates for the first eight items, the chief raw materials, at 30, 42, 100, 160, 50, 30, 30, 12, we get an average of 58; whereas the remaining seven, mainly manufactured products, give only an average of 13, and the whole fifteen give only 37 as an average multiplier. Manufactured articles were four times as dear as raw materials in the twelfth as in the nineteenth century.

We have, however, other corrections to make. The earlier items are mainly retail prices; the later ones are wholesale, except in the cases of nails and boots (I have had to guess what the Prince of Wales gives for a pair of boots). Now retail prices are one-third higher than wholesale, so we have to increase our index-number by one-third, or multiply by $\frac{4}{3}$.

But the shilling of the twelfth century was a different and weightier coin than our present token coin of that name. Twenty of them could be made out of a pound of silver, whereas 66 are so made nowadays. This would reduce our index-numbers by $\frac{20}{33}$. On the other hand, our standard of value is now gold;* and while 66 token shillings are made of a pound of silver, this latter can be bought nowadays for 38*s.*, or $\frac{38}{20}$ of a gold sovereign. So that a shilling of the twelfth century was only worth $\frac{20}{33}$ of a twentieth of a sovereign. We must therefore multiply our index-number by the inverse of this fraction in order to change the standard. Altogether therefore we have to multiply

* This consideration has never been taken into account in estimates of this kind, so far as I am aware.

by $\frac{4}{3}$ (for third) by $\frac{40}{39}$ (for difference of weight), by $\frac{33}{40}$ (for change of standard), or about $\frac{3}{4}$. So for raw materials the index-number would be 40, for manufactured 9, and for both 25. In other words, a penny in the twelfth century would go as far as two shillings nowadays, half as much again for raw materials, but only ninepence for manufactured articles. This rough result is confirmed by the fact that the only case of wages given is £1 4*s*. 4*d*. a year (Eden, *State of Poor*, iii. p. ix.), which would correspond to something like $5\frac{1}{4}d$. a week, which, reckoning on the above calculation, would correspond to 12*s*. a week.

It is, of course, obvious how very rough is the above reckoning, but it was absolutely necessary to get some such rough idea of the relative value of money for a book which is so full of references to amounts large or small. If these are multiplied by 30, some idea of their value as expressed in the currency of to-day may be obtained. For it is probable that, curiously enough, the larger the amount the larger ought to be the "index-number" to correspond to the relative importance of the sum compared with the whole capital of the country.

V.—JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TREASURY.

The sources of the King's income in Angevin England were of an extremely miscellaneous character. Almost every event in the life of an Englishman might be the occasion of claiming money from him. The classical treatise of Thomas Madox, *The History of the Exchequer*, 1707, thus goes over a large section of the whole of English life. It was the same with Englishmen of Jewish faith: their payments to the Exchequer were multifarious in the extreme. It has been usual to refer to this as evidence that the King's power was absolute over them, that they were his chattels. But for nearly every one of the payments made by an English Jew I can produce evidence of similar fines.

&c., made by other Englishmen. The chief exceptions are payments for Escuage, Ferms, Aids, and Customs, though the Dona and Tallage of the Jews may be said to correspond to Aids. I have drawn up the following list of the various occasions on which we find Jews paying the Royal Treasury during the period under review, following as far as possible the order of Madox's treatment and placing in brackets the chapter and section of his treatise where the same or similar exactions from ordinary Englishmen are recorded.

RELIEF, WARDSHIP, MARRIAGE (X. iv.).

[Relief was a feudal profit paid by a tenant on taking possession of his estate on the death of the previous owner. Wardship was the right of custody of a relative's children.]

(1) For a relief, P.R. item, 203. [x. 4.]

(2) To have debts, &c., of deceased father, 26 (£60), 55 (5 m. husband), 66 (20 m. mother), 73 (£6), 76 (15s.), 81 (2 m. father-in-law), 85 (11 m. son), 86 (20 m. husband), 101 (£500), 116 (100 m.), 119 (£5 books), 121 (700 m.), 123 (200 m.), 140 (300 m.), 162 (20 m. not relative). [x. 4.]

(3) To have custody (wardship) of children, 23, 52, 134; for King to have same, 40. [x. 4.]

(4) For marrying without licence, 15, 58 [xiii. 2]; not to wed, 10; for a bill of divorce, 38.

(5) To have half of dowry settled on wife, 118; to have dowry returned by son when husband is dead, p. 234. [xiii. 11.]

FINES [XI.-XIII.]

[In later legal phraseology Fines refer chiefly to final agreements for the transfer of real estate; in earlier usage the term was used for almost any kind of offering made to the King.]

(6) For waste and purpresture (encroachment on forest), 80. [xi. 1.]

(7) To have dispute about forest rights heard in King's court, 204.

[These are the only two items referring to forest rights and wrongs, showing that Jews were little concerned with hunting.]

For Law Proceedings. [XII.]

(8) To have justice, 46 [xii. 1]; to have writs for justice, 160.

(9) To have pleas, 2, 21 [xii. 2]; in common, 75; to hear plea against Jews, 43.

(10) To have inquiry whether Jew may take usury from Jew, 128; whether father died Christian, 161. [*Cf.* xii. 2.]

(11) To have agreement heard, 195; dispute heard, 204.

(12) To have summons before Chief Justice instead of Justices in Eyre, 91.

(13) To have case between Jews heard in King's court, 98.

(14) To have respite of plea, 38, 146, p. 211 [xii. 4]; between Jews, 34, 50.

For Debts. [XII. v.]

[Here, as is natural, we have the larger number of cases which cannot be paralleled from Madox.]

(15) To have right to recover debts, 32 (25 per cent. paid King), 49 (in Normandy), 55 *bis* (12 per cent.), 60 (50), 61 (30), 78, 99*b* (18), 113 *bis* (33, 54), 126 (33), 132 *ter* (22, 30, 20), 153 (13 3), 156 *bis* (10, 9), 158 (11), 191, 192, 194, 195 (16 per cent.), 197. [xii 5.]

(16) To have right to recover debt against Jew, 64 (400 per cent. paid to King), 94 (14 per cent.), 147 (50 per cent.), 152 250 per cent.).

(17) To have debts, 14, 48*a*, 51, 54, 79 (and chattels), 94 (and pledges) 171, 191, 192. [xiii. 6.]

(18) To have help to recover debt, 4, 5 [xiii. 6]; to have debtor distrained, 181.

(19) To have writ to recover debt, 113, p. 202 [xiii. 9]; to remind debtor, p. 200.

(20) To have right against estate of deceased debtor, 153.

(21) To have county record of debt against Jew, 160. [xii. 2.]

(22) To have mortgage, 51 *bis* [xii. 5]; to have pledge, 190; to be recognised as owner of land, 90.

(23) To have disputed mortgage kept in King's hand, 210.

(24) To get deeds from sheriff, 68; for a deed, 72.

(25) To have starrs and acquittances of deceased Jews inspected by Justices of Jews, p. 211.

(26) To have agreement with a Christian about a debt, 202.

(27) To have debts of Aaron of Lincoln, 106, 111, 125, 125*a*, 130, 135, 136, 143, 150, 163, 165, 174, 175, p. 211, 180, p. 238, 190*b*, 216; for fine to have one of his debts, 125 (500 m. for £500), 130; to have one of his houses, 125*a*, 131.

For Licences, &c. [XIII., iv.-viii.]

(28) To have an agreement among themselves, 20, 88, 199. [xiii. 4.]

(29) To have partnership, 22, 39, 83, 84 (concurrent, xiii. 13), 182. [xiii. 4.]

(30) To have residence with good-will of King. [xiii. 5.]

(31) To have house bought but deprived of, 57.

(32) To have seizin of land mortgaged, 27, 69. [xiii. 8.]

For Legal Offences, &c. [XIII., ix.-xii.]

[See also Amerciaments, Nos. 37 *seq.*]

(33) To be replevied (bailed out), 126, (for burglary); 151. [xiii. 9.]

(34) To be surety, 127, 150 (for mother) [xiii. 10]; for offering money to redeem another Jew, 198.

(35) To be quits of pledges, 33 [xiii. 10]; not to be prosecuted, 88, 141 *ter.*

(36) To be quits of appeal between Jews, 35, 172, p. 200 [xiii. 11]; to be quits of a charge [*ibid.*]; to be put on oath, 154. 183; for not keeping fine, 79.

AMERCIAMENTS. [XIV.]

[When a person was found guilty of a charge he was at the King's mercy ("in misericordia"), and could only obtain this by paying an amerciament: it is often difficult to distinguish these from fines.]

(37) For an amerciament, 13 (£2,000), 28, 55 £6,000) [xiv. 5]; fine for amerciament, 97.

(38) For killing sick man, 3 (£2000!) [xiv. 6]; for striking knight, 45, 46.

(39) For personation, 57; for being party to illegal contract, 44. [xiv. 7.]

(40) For denying what he had said before, 48, 113, 133 *ter.* [xiv. 7.]

(41) For being accused of being of the society of outlaws 145. [xiv. 7.]

(42) For lending money to men under King's displeasure, 90 [xiv. 7]; on sacred garments, 17, 53.

(43) For a novel disseissin, 65. [xiv. 8.]

(44) For a default (or forfeiture), 36. [xiv. 11.]

(45) For withdrawing from court without licence. 197, 211. [xiv. 11.]

(46) For false charge, 141. [xiv. 13.]

(47) For suborning evidence, 189*a*. [xiv. 13.]

(48) For calling warrant illegally, 99*a*. [xiv. 12.]

(49) For a stupid saying, 148 [xiv. 15]; for not having proper information in deed, 92. For taking off priest's cap, 72. [xiv. 15]

(50) For buying treasure trove without permission, 93; for detaining rent of land, 91.

(51) For keeping back acquitted charters, 62; for demanding debt already paid, 48, 110.

(52) For failing to convict charter of falsity, 77; for not giving up debt to another Jew, 113.

(53) Not to be impleaded for concealing charters, 123, 146; for carrying off goods on which another Jew has sureties, 194.

(54) For lands unjustly pledged, 201; to have another Jew kept in custody for clipping, p. 233.

TALLAGE. [XVII.]

(55) Dona, 7, 9, 105 (2,000 m.), p. 162. [xvii. 2.]

(56) Tallage, Guildford, p. 88, 89, 107, 166, 167, 213, 214, 215. [xvii. 6.]

(57) Quarter of chattels, 71. [xvii. 2.]

(58) To be quit of Tallage, 89. [xvii. 7.]

It would be of interest to ascertain what was the average amount of income that the King derived from his Jewish subjects from these reliefs, fines, amerciaments, and tallages. It is however very difficult to ascertain this, since for a large part of the period we have no Fine Rolls which often give information of sums paid to the King otherwise than through the Exchequer to which the entries in the Pipe Rolls are confined. The Tallages and Dona were mainly accounted for on separate rolls and do not appear except by accident on the Pipe Rolls (there is no reference *e.g.* to the Northampton Donum in the Pipe Rolls). I have not given details of all my extracts from the Pipe Rolls (many more occur in the Name List) and I cannot claim to have extracted all the Jewish items. There must obviously have been

more 'reliefs' than the fifteen enumerated above (§2). Altogether any estimate found on my extracts can only profess to represent the minimum.

There is further the difficulty that we do not always know if some of the larger sums mentioned in the records were fully paid up. It is certainly desirable to separate these special entries from the more ordinary items.

31 Hen. I.	Amerciament (3)	£2000
12 Hen. II.	Abraham fil Rabbi (13)	2000
23 ,,	Transfretation (29, 42)	4066
32 ,,	Jurnet's fine (67)	4000
35 ,,	Jurnet's licence to reside (87)	1200
35 ,,	Guildford Tallage	60,000
1 Ric. I.	Cistercian fine	666
3 Ric. I.	Debts of Aaron (106)	15,000
3 ,,	Second Thousand Marks 105	1366
3 ,,	Tallage	6666
5 ,,	Northampton Donum	3666
	Donum referred to p. 164 *n.*	2000
2 Jo.	Charters	2666

Taking these separately, as well as the sums paid in the earlier period to Jews by the sheriffs, probably for value received, we may sum up the receipts recorded in the Pipe Rolls as follows in pounds sterling.

Reign.	*Ordinary.*	*Sheriffs.*	*Special.*	*Total.*
Hen. I.	208	—	2000	2208
Hen. II. 2-36	2030	2702	94300	99030
Ric. I. 1-10	2710	40	5333	8416
Jo. 1-7	350	—	2666	3016

It is clear that the averages for Henry II. and John are too small, the former because my extracts were less complete, the latter because the items relating to Jews had been removed to

special rolls. For John's reign this is to some degree compensated for by the items from the Fine Rolls, which reach £449 for the seven years, besides £531 for the Royal Ten Per Cent. for the two years, 5-7 Jo. *supra* (pp. 239-111). This would seem to show that the average business of the whole English Jewry only reached £2,500 per annum, which is clearly much below the mark. The Royal Ten Per Cent. only applied to debts recovered through the courts. If we could assume that about £300 per annum was the average of ordinary P. R. items, as in Ric. I., and £250 those of the Fine Rolls not extant for Henry II. and Ric. I., we should obtain something like the following revenue from Jews for the 51 years between 2 Hen. II. and Jo. 7 (1156-1206; the solitary year of Hen. I. need not be considered):—

Pipe Roll ordinary items	£15,300
Fines and Royal Ten Per Cent.	13,250
Sheriffs' payments	2,742
Special Amerciaments, Tallages, &c. ..	102,300
Total.. ..	133,592

From this has to be subtracted £9,452 not paid and removed to Jews' Rolls by Benedict de Talemund in 10 Ric. I. (P. R. item 172) and £4,500 of Aaron's debt still owing in 3 Jo., leaving a the balance of £120,000 for the 51 years. To this has to be added unknown quantity of Aaron's cash treasure, lost in transit from England to Normandy. This would probably raise the average contribution of the Jews to the English Treasury to about £2,500 annually, and allowing for tallages, &c., not recorded during the years for which the Fine Rolls are not extant (*e.g.*, the price of these charters was probably the same in 2 Hen. II. and 2 Ric. I. as in 2 Jo., *i.e.*, 4,000 marks), we may assume, I think, that the average contribution was as near as possible £3,000 *per annum*.

Taking the "index number" which we reached in a former section of this Appendix this would correspond to some £75,000 nowadays. But it is probable that this sum is an inadequate representation of the Jewish contributions to the Treasury contrasted with the whole available national resources. The whole treasure left by Henry II. was 100,000 marks, the same sum was the ransom set on King Richard (Macpherson Annals, *sub amis* 1189, 1193). Towards this ransom the City of London gave or promised only 1500 marks, the English Jewry no less than 5000. The total trade of England was £100,000 *per annum* (Macpherson, *l.c. sub anno* 1205); it is at present, 4,000 times as much. The £3000 contributed to the Treasury by the Jews must have loomed far more largely in the eyes of the King's Treasurer than perhaps a thousand times as large a sum nowadays.

What was the complete revenue of Angevin England? The estimate generally accepted is that of £65,000, given by Bishop Stubbs; but that is for Edward I., a century later than the period we are considering. The Pipe Roll of 2 Hen. II. gives a revenue of only £22,000; that of 1 Ric. I. of £50,000. The last is too large, as it contains the new and extra aids given to the King on his accession. It would be safe, I fancy, to take £35,000 as the average revenue, so that the Jewish contribution was about one-twelfth of the whole. If we could compare the state of the national finances of the twelfth with that of the present century, this would make the Jewish contributions to the Treasury as important as an annual sum of £7,000,000 would be to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The loss of the Jewish revenue led Edward I. to grant the statute *De tallagio non concedendo* and the regular summons of burgesses to Parliament. *Cf.* Dr. Gross, in *Papers Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 211. who reckons the average contributions of the Jews to the Treasury during the thirteenth century at £5,000 *per annum* (*l.c.* p. 195).

VI.—ASSIZE OF JEWRY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.*

The materials for the history of the English Jews in the twelfth century are so much more extensive than that which is extant for any other European country, that it is possible to draw up an Assize of Jewry, a whole code of laws derived from the canons, charters, or rolls.† I have thought it worth while to draw up such a code with continuous enumeration, and descriptive cross-headings to the various sections. As a rule I have arranged the extracts in chronological order.

CHURCH ORDINANCES.

[See *supra* pp. 1, 15, 62, 184, 255.]

(1.) A Christian must not sell a Christian slave to a Jew (Theodosius, *Lib. Pæn.* xlii. 3).

(2.) Christians must not accept unleavened bread from them (*id.* xlii, 1).

(3.) Mass must not be celebrated where Jews have been buried (*id.*, xlvii. 1).

(4.) Public offices should not be committed to Jews (Gratian, *Decr.* I., liv. 14).

(5.) Christian slaves in possession of Jews must be liberated (*id.*, 13).

(6.) Jews must not be converted by force, nor must converted Jews be allowed to revert (*id.*, I. xlv. 5).

(7.) Jews cannot accuse Christians (*Corp. Jur. Can.*, ed. Friedburg, col. 489).

(8.) Jews about to be converted must be catechumens for eight months (*id.*, col. 1,392).

* As a matter of fact the expression "Assize of Jewry" is not found till the thirteenth century.

† Numbers refer to the items from the Pipe Rolls, p. to pages *supra*.

(9.) If a converted Jew reverts to Judaism, his children and slaves are not to be allowed to accompany him (*id.*, col. 1,392).

(10.) Christians taking up the cross are freed from usury to Jews (Pope Eugenius, ap. *Baroni Annales*, s.a. 1,145, *supra* p. 23).

(11.) Clergy and Jews are not to be placed under secular jurisdiction (Decree of Council of Avranches, 1172; ap. Benedict, ed. Stubbs, i. 34, *supra* p. 55).

(12.) Jews must not have Christians as servants (Mansi, *Concilia*, xx. 399) or as nurses (Gratian, *Decrt.* V., vi. 13).

(13.) Testimony of Jews is not to be preferred to that of Christians (Benedict Abbot i. 230).

(14.) Jews may possess Christian churls, but not slaves (*Decr.* V., vi. 2).

(15.) They may restore old synagogues, but not build new ones (*id.*, 3-7).

(16.) On Good Friday they must keep doors and windows shut (*id.*, 4).

(17.) Princes who spoil Baptised Jews of their goods are to be excommunicated (*id.* 5, *cf.* No. 35).

(18.) Jew striking priest should be punished by secular power (*id.*, 14).

(19.) They must not be condemned without judgment, nor disturbed at their festivals, nor their cemeteries to be molested, nor their bodies exhumed (*id.*, 9).

MAGNA CARTA JUDÆORUM.

[This seems to have been first granted in the reign of Henry I.; we have confirmations—1 Ric. I. (Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 51-*M.C.R.*, *supra* p. 134), and 2 Jo. (*Rotuli Cartarum*, Rec. Com. i. 93-*M.C.J.*, *supra* p. 212). They agree except with regard to § vi.]

(20.) Jews have free residence in England and Normandy, and may hold lands, fiefs, pledges, gifts, and purchases (*M.C.R.*, § i.; *M.C.J.*, § i.).

(21.) In a trial between Christian and Jew, each shall have two witnesses—one Jew, one Christian; a writ shall serve the Jew as a witness (*M.C.R.*, § ii.; *M.C.J.*, § ii.).

(22.) A Christian suing a Jew must appear before the "peers of the Jew" (*M.C.R.*, § ii.; *M.C.J.*, § ii.).

(23.) A Jew's son shall succeed to his father's debts and money, but shall do right for same (*M.C.R.*, § iii.; *M.C.J.*, § iii).

(24.) Jews may receive and buy anything except church vestments or bloodstained garments (*M.C.R.*, § iii.; *M.C.J.*, § iii.).

(25.) They are quits of appeal on oath *more judaico* (*M.C.R.*, § iv.; *M.C.J.*, § iv.).

(26.) In debt cases Jew proves capital; Christian, the interest (*M.C.R.*, § iv.; *M.C.J.*, § iv.).

(27.) They can sell pledges after a year and a day† (*M.C.R.*, § v.; *M.C.J.*, § v.).

(28.) They can only be called upon to plead before King's justices or wardens of king's castles (*M.C.R.*, § v.; *M.C.J.*, § v.).

(29.) During the minority of the heir of a debtor, a Jew is not to be disturbed of his debt (*M.C.R.*, § vi.).

(30.) They may go with their chattels just as if they were the King's property (*M.C.R.*, § vi.; *M.C.J.*, § vi.).

(31.) They are free of all Customs and Tolls (*M.C.R.*, § vii.; *M.C.J.*, § vii.).

(32.) Criminal cases between Jews, except for the greater felonies, as homicide, mayhem, etc., may be decided among

† Query, is this the origin of the present custom with pawnbrokers' pledges?

themselves by their own law (Confirmation by John, *l.c.*, probably first given by Henry II.; cf. Robertson, *Mat. Hist. of Thom. Becket*, iv. 148, *supra* p. 42).

THE KING AND THE JEWS.

(33.) Jews [query, of different towns] have to get king's license to marry (Pipe Roll, items 15, 33, 58, 182), or not to marry in the case of a Jewess (10), or to give bill of divorce (38).

(34.) King is the guardian of orphans (25, 40).

(35.) Property of converted Jews reverts to king on baptism (Benedict, i. 230; cf. *supra*, No. 17, and p. 105).

(36.) "Jews and all theirs belong to the king" (*Laws of Edw. Confessor*, XXV.‡, *supra* p. 68).

(37.) Debts of a deceased Jew fall into the king's hands (70, 95, 101, 116, 170).

(38.) King claims one-fourth of Jews' chattels when tallaging the rest of England one-tenth for the Saladin Crusade (71, 82. *Cf.* Gervase of Canterbury, I. 422, *supra* p. 93).

(39.) Christian debtors to Jews may become sureties for the latters' debts to the king (111).

(40.) King claims half of dowry settled on a Jewess (118).

(41.) One Jew may pay king for debts of another Jew to the king (144).

(42.) A Christian's land in the king's hand for a debt to a Jew deceased is released when the rent reaches the amount of the pledge (164; because king, as Christian, cannot claim usury).

(43.) The king could quitclaim a subject of a debt to Jews (186, and pp. 205, 209, 229, 230, 231, 237, 238).

‡ This is recognised to be an interpolation *temp.* Henry II., and is inconsistent with the statement *supra* § 30; 'just as if' implies that they were *not* the king's property.

(44.) Jew's property may be distrained for debt not paid to the king (p. 222).

(45.) King may grant Jew's land, held on mortgage, to a Christian other than the original debtor, if he pays the same rent as latter till the said debtor pays off the debt and thereby comes into possession of his own land again (p. 230).

(46.) Usury to Jews lapses while debtor is on the king's service (p. 238).

(47.) King has a right to one besant (2s.) for every pound claimed by a Jew through his courts (the Royal Ten per Cent., pp. 239-41).

(48.) King has right to compensation for partnership between Jews (22, 83).

PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES.

(49.) Jews could only be buried in London up to 1177, afterwards wherever they dwelt (*Benedict*, i. 182, *supra* p. 62).

(50.). Jews may not take arms or armour in pledge (Assize of Arms, 1181, *supra* p. 75).

(51.) Jews hold land by rent in lieu of service (p. 94).

(52.) Jews could pay knights' fees (*Liber Rubeus*), p. 260.

(53.) Jews could not be "men" of an abbey (Joce de Brakebond, 33, *supra* p. 141).

(54) Burgesses must make hue and cry for a slain Jew (115).

(55.) Burgesses must pay fine for assaults on Jews (98, 102, 113, 117, 142), and must give hostages for same (138).

(56.) Jews could hold land or quit-rent granted by Chapter of St. Paul's (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* ix. 14, 22, 50, 68), *supra* pp. 177, 260.

(57.) Jews could not sell tin unless stamped, nor keep tin of first smelting more than three months without its being resmelted, nor remove it from Cornwall or Devon without license

of the Warden of the Stannaries (*Liber Rubeus*), *supra* p. 186.

(58.) Jews could have seisin of a mortgage (27, 69, *Rot. Cur. Reg.*, p. 191).

(59.) There was an Archpresbyter of all the Jews of England, who was appointed for life, and could only be called upon to plead before the king or the chief justice, and should have safe conduct wherever he might go (*Rot. Cart.* i. 77, *supra* p. 202).

(60.) Jews could sell manors (p. 204).

(61.) Jews had to have passports to pass from England to Normandy, and *vice versâ*, p 223..

(62.) Jews could hold land at peppercorn rent (Brit. Mus. Add. MS., 4542, *supra* p. 234).

LEGAL.

(63.) The "manbote" of a slain Jew was 20s. [as for a serf] (6).

(64.) Jews must not lend to men under king's displeasure (16), or on sacred vestments (17. *Cf.* MCR, § iii. *supra*, No. 24).

(65.) Jews must not "cambire" [? mint or exchauge money] without king's license (41).

(66.) They must not sell chattels to other Jews without permit (44).

(67.) Jewish sureties take over property of bailee (67).

(68.) Jurnet, the Jew, is very heavily fined (6,000 marks) for marrying a Christian heiress (67).

(69.) An apostate Jew is liable to heavy punishment (p. 106).

(70.) A Jew must not buy treasure trove without consent of Justice (93).

(71.) Jews must not be in the society of outlaws (145).

(72.) Jews could settle pleas between themselves by duel (pp. 176, 233).

(73.) Disputed charters could be adjudicated by a jury of twelve Jews and twelve Christians (184; p. 201).

(74.) Trials for mayhem against a Jew could be held before the ordinary jury of a hundred (Tovey, *Ang. Jud.*, 66, *supra*, p. 216).

(75) Clipped money found in the hands of Jews to be perforated, and the Jews put in custody (*Pat. Roll, supra* p. 225).

(76.) Jews may use old depreciated money to buy food or clothing, but not to pay king or buy merchandise (Assize of Money, 1205; *supra* p. 226).

(77.) A Jew can be convicted as a forger by the oath of another Jew (183).

(78.) A Jew who evades arrest may have his chattels seized, but on surrendering and finding bail recovers them (p. 232).

JEWS IN RELATION TO DEBTORS.

(79.) Jews must not keep back acquitted charters (62).

(80.) One Jew may pay another for a Christian (143).

(81.) Debtors not paying up could be distrained through king's court for capital and interest (181).

(82.) A Christian could make a Jew or Jewess his attorney to receive rents till his debt was paid off.

(83.) A Christian may take another Christian's lands for acquitting him of debt to Jews (188).

(84.) Charters were returned to Jews when debt was cleared off, or King quitclaimed the debtor (p. 222).

"*THE ORDINANCE OF THE JEWRY*," 1194.

[Regulating the registration of Jewish debts, and paving the way for the Exchequer of the Jews of the thirteenth century. *R. Howden*, ed. *Stubbs*, iii. 266, *supra* p. 156.]

(85.) All debts, pledges, mortgages, lands, houses, rents, and possessions shall be registered.

(86.) Any Jew concealing aught of his possessions shall be imprisoned and lose all.

(87.) All contracts between Jews and Christians shall be made in six or seven places, and before six officials, of whom two shall be lawyers that are Jews.

(88.) All charters are to be made in duplicate, and one copy to be kept by the Jew.

(89.) The other copy is to be kept in a common chest locked with three keys, and sealed with three seals (one key and one seal being that of the two Jews).

(90.) A roll shall be kept of transcripts of all charters.

(91.) There shall be two scribes and one keeper of the roll, each to receive one penny for each deed.

(92.) No contracts shall be valid except before a quorum of the six, and there shall be three transcripts of all payments to Jews, one to be kept by the Jew, one by the scribes, and one by the keeper of the roll.

(93.) Every Jew shall swear not to conceal aught.

(94.) Two Proctors shall be appointed to decide cases between Jew and Christian (addition of John of Brompton. Otherwise called Bailiffs, Wardens, Justiciars of the Jews).

JEWISH REGULATIONS.

[Occurring in the scanty references to English Jews in the *Tosaphoth*, etc.]

(95.) Relatives must not judge among Jews in a case where a relative is concerned (*Sepher Hajashar*, 71*a*, *supra* p. 26).

(96.) A Jew betrothed to one of three sisters not specified must divorce all three (*supra* pp. 52, 291).

(97.) If a Gentile pays too much, and cannot be found, the extra money goes to the original lender, and not to any agent (*supra* p. 53).

(98.) Seven elders decide on any disputed questions (p. 49).

(99.) Informers, and those using Gentle courts against fellow-Jews, are excommunicated (p. 49).

(100.) Milk drawn by a Gentile is unclean (Mord. *Ab. Sar.* ii. 126, *supra* p. 54).

(101.) Barnacle geese may be eaten by Jews if slaughtered according to Jewish custom (Meir of Rothenburg *Resp.* No. 160, *supra* p. 54).

(102.) Fires may be kept alight by Gentiles for Jews on Sabbath (p. 111).

(103.) Unclean meal does not defile if only one-sixtieth of the whole parcel bought (p. 146).

(104.) Jews must not eat what a Gentile has boiled* (p. 178).

(105.) English Jews may use *Kannabos* (? hemp) on their woollen garments (*Shibole Halleket* MS., *supra* p. 286).

(106.) English Jews drink with Gentiles (*supra* p. 269).

(107.) Two bills of divorce are to be given to a woman when her husband has changed his name *in articulo mortis* (p. 288).

(108.) A Jewess confessing to adultery must swear she has not set her heart on another man (p. 289).

(109.) If a Jew lends a borrowed horse to a Gentile and the latter loses it, the Jew must pay (p. 289).

(110) A bill of divorce may be given to a minor without his betrothed's knowledge (p. 291).

VII.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

From incidental notices and remarks of the chroniclers, and even in the rolls, we can gather some information, scanty enough it is true, as to the *Culturgeschichte* of the English Jews in the twelfth century. And first with regard to their relations to their fellow-citizens. Up to the *émeutes* of 1189-90 these were exceptionally friendly. The dispute between R. Simeon Chasid and Abbot Crispin is of a most amicable description.

* It is curious and characteristic that most of the Anglo-Jewish enactments relate to the customary dietary laws.

"He used often to come to me as a friend both on business and to see me," the genial Abbot writes (S. Anselm, *Opera* ii. 255). Moses of Wallingford was highly respected at Oxford (*Acta Sanct.*, October 19th, St. Frideswide). At Lynn, during the riots, one of the victims "was a distinguished physician friendly with and honoured by the Christians," as William of Newbury puts it (*supra* p. 115). And the chroniclers seem anxious in their accounts to attribute the riots to the ill-will of foreigners so far as they can.

With the clergy we find equally good relations. The Jews entered churches freely, even to seek their debtors, and took refuge in the Abbey of St. Edmonds in times of commotion. They kept their deeds in York Minster. The monks of Canterbury had the sympathy and succour of the Jews, who "prayed for the continuance of the convent in their synagogues" when the archbishop had put them under excommunication. "A wonderful contrast indeed!" says Gervase of Canterbury (i. 405). They mourned the death of the good bishop Hugh of Lincoln as much as any of their fellow-citizens (*Vita*, ed. Dymock p. 373). There is an interesting account of a witty Jew travelling to Shrewsbury with Archdeacon Peche and Deacon Dayville, and making puns on a country whose archdeacon is sin (Peche) and dean the devil (Gerald. Cambr., *Opera*, vi. 146). This shows that the ordinary talk of the Jews was French, as is also clear from the glosses in the English Tosaphists and from the fact that Richard of Devises makes a French Jew recommend a lad not to go northward in England, because he will find none speaking Romance (ed. Howlett, p. 438). This implies that they only came in contact with the upper classes, and indeed, as we have seen, their business was only with them.

On the other hand, the Jews did not scruple to express their views freely about the prevailing religion. One of them openly

ridiculed at Oxford the miracles attributed to St. Frideswide. R. Simeon Chasid complains of the worship of images and pictures of the crucified God. "They swelled insolently against Christ," says the chronicler in explaining their persecutions. Peter of Blois complains of the pertinacity with which the Jews disputed about the faith: they laid stress upon the literal interpretation of Scripture. On one occasion a fine was paid for knocking off a priest's cap (72), presumably during service or in church. It is obvious that they used their powers of ridicule against Christianity, and helped thereby to increase the feeling of animosity against them.

In another way they acted unwisely and inconsiderately. Their ostentation in the display of their riches struck the chroniclers when explaining the causes of the riots. The late Professor Freeman was never tired of quoting Aaron of Lincoln's boast that it was he who had really built the Abbey of St. Alban's. They were the first to build stone houses, partly for protection no doubt, but it was the great sign of luxury. The houses of Joce and Benedict, the leading Jews at York, were like royal palaces, and William of Newbury refers to those in London in similar terms.* All this could not have failed to irritate the minor nobles, who saw themselves growing poorer and poorer every day and the Jews richer and richer. They wore weapons, and used them freely. The riot at Lynn began with their pursuing a converted Jew into a church with drawn weapons. Two cases are on record of trial by duel, one of them between two Jews (pp. 176, 233), while a Jew is mentioned named Benedictus Miles, *i.e.*, the Knight.

Conversions to Christianity do not seem to be at all frequent. Out of a list of some 750, only seven converts occur, one of them that of a Jewess. During the massacres of 1189-90, there were doubtless many forcible baptisms, but Richard I. wisely laid no

stress on such cases, and allowed Benedict of York, christened William during the London *émeute*, to return to his own religion without suffering the penalties attaching to such apostasy. On the other hand, there is on record the conversion of two Cistercian monks to Judaism, whereupon the witty Walter Mapes remarked that he wondered they had not been converted to Christianity. Ephraim of Bonn declares that a whole congregation of twenty-two proselytes were put to death during the outburst of Easter, 1190, *supra* p. 131.

As before explained, their occupation was almost exclusively that of money-lending. A couple of physicians are however mentioned, the one at Lynn, and Isaac Medicus, of London. They dealt also in jewels and precious stones; a carbuncle of Mossey, the rich Jew of Gloucester, is mentioned as the subject of litigation, and King John had a jewel that had belonged to Simon the Jew; his goldsmith was Leo the Jew. There is a coin of Henry II. with the name of the moneyer Isac, of Everwic (York), but it is doubtful whether he was a Jew. A Jew is mentioned as keeping an inn (Robertson, *Materials*, ii. 7), and various scribes occur, as well as a master of the boys (*magister puerorum*). The scribes were probably *sopherim* or caligraphers, as Zunz mentions that Machsorim from England were brought over to France in the twelfth century (*Die Ritus*, p. 52), and Ephraim of Bonn reports that many beautiful books were seized at York and sold in Cologne after the massacre of 1190. Libraries were formed; in two cases large sums were paid to retain the books of a deceased parent (Pipe Roll 119, Sir Morell's), or to recover those of the person fined (216).

As regards their customs among themselves we have but little knowledge. They used to betroth their daughters while still minors, excusing the practice on account of the frequent persecutions, which made it doubtful when they could pay the dowry

(*Tos. Kidd.* 41*a*). The few religious problems discussed by them related mainly to the dietary laws (*See* Assize *supra*, Nos. 100-110). They did not smell sweet savours at the end of the Sabbath when a festival followed (*Hamanhig*, 83*b*). They adjudicated on partnerships and agreements among themselves (81), and a chapter of Jews were once called upon to decide the question whether a Jew could take usury from a Jew (128). On another occasion a daughter applied to have an inquest whether her father had died a Christian (161). The lower minds among the Jews excused themselves for taking usury from the Christians, against Deut. xxiii. 20, because the Edomites are called strangers (Obad. ver. 11, *supra* p. 225).

The Jews do not seem to have rendered themselves liable to the criminal law to any great extent. The worst charges recorded are one of rape (189), one of forcible entry (126; the accused was replevied, or admitted to bail), for clipping the coin (p. 233; the accuser was also a Jew), for mayhem ("ementulation," Tovey 66; the accused was acquitted). The chief charges are rather connected with their business; keeping back acquitted charters (62); being a party to an illegal contract (44); giving false witness (48, 113, 133 *ter*); buying treasure trove (93); concealing charters after death of father (123, 146); suborning evidence (189*a*). These, with a charge of waste and purprestur (30, encroachment), and of having "cambired"—whatever that may mean—(41, probably minted without licence) are all the charges ever mentioned in the records, and, on the whole, form a tolerably clean bill of moral health. It is noteworthy in the case of mayhem, the Jew was acquitted by the ordinary jury of the hundred before whom he was tried; I fancy it was a case of circumcision of a convert.

We may conclude this section with a few items dealing rather with folk-lore. The myth of the blood accusation must have

helped to make the Jews appear uncanny in the minds of the people, and the (French) ballad of the Jew-boy who was converted and murdered by his father, and sang hymns to the Virgin after death, occurs in many English MSS. Both Matthew Paris and Ephraim of Bonn agree in stating that the Jews were kept away from the coronation of Richard I., lest they should cast some magic spell on the ceremony. The Jews of England believed in the curious myth of the barnacle geese which grew on trees. They applied to Rabbi Tam to know if they might eat them, and he replied that they should be slaughtered after Jewish fashion, and were then edible by pious Jews. We do not hear of Jewesses exercising their usual function of witches and enchantresses. On the contrary, we hear of a Christian woman who was accustomed to charm the foot of a Jewish woman, and was only taught by a miracle of St. Thomas Becket how wicked her conduct was, not, as it would seem, in using spells, but rather for exercising them for the benefit of a Jewess.

VIII.—JEWISH EDUCATION.

The remarkable code of Jewish education given at the end of Dr. Güdemann's *Culturgeschichte*, Bnd. I., *supra* pp. 143-51, was drawn up, I am strongly of opinion, in England; at least, as regards the first of the three sections of which it is composed. The seventh clause of this speaks of the French Jews as foreigners, and the eleventh refers to the long winter nights, while the whole basis of the scheme is the contrast between the small schools of the provinces and the great school for the separated in the capital; this would only apply to England, if France is to be left out, as is implied by Clause 7. Besides, I have found the provisions of the code exactly followed in England. Blomfield, *Norfolk*, iv. 225, declares that the school was at the south end of the synagogue at Norwich; here we have the

small school of the provinces. And there is a record of the *Magna schola Judæorum* of London, belonging to Abraham fil Rabi, in Ironmonger Lane (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4,542); there we have the great school of the capital. Also R. Yomtob of Joigny, who was martyred at York, mentions that his father was one of the *Perushim*, or Separated. The general education of the Jews of the time is shown by their literary activity, the visit of Abraham ibn Ezra in 1158, and the fact that even Jewesses were able to draw up deeds in Hebrew (Harl. ch. 43, A. 54). The fact that several MSS. of the Hebrew Josephus could be obtained among them is also proof of their interest in Hebrew literature, while the long list of authors which I have been able to compile (*infra* XIX.) shows that there was a large cultivated section among them. Altogether there is sufficient probability for my contention for me to include a translation of the code in this book, and the following summary of it here. The letters and figures following in brackets refer to the sections of the three different codes included in the document. I have attempted to unify them.

JEWISH CODE OF EDUCATION.

(i.) Every first-born male is to be set apart (Separated) for the study of the law from the eighth day after circumcision (A 1, B 5).

(ii.) At five years old every Jewish boy is to be brought in the month Nisan to the small school of the provinces, and taught to read; then put to Leviticus, then to read the weekly portion in Hebrew, then in the vernacular, and then in the Targum (A 7, 8; B 6, C 1).

(iii.) At ten years he studies the Mishna, beginning with the tractate *Beracoth* of the Talmud, and going through the smaller tractates of the order *Moed* in the next three years (B 6, C 2).

(iv.) At thirteen years the education of the ordinary boy finishes; that of the Separated continues in the same school till the lad is sixteen, when he decides for himself whether he will devote his life to the Law, and, if so, goes up to the great school of the Separated in the capital for another seven years (A 2, 3; C 3).

(v.) The small school of the provinces is to be held in a two-storied house, capable of holding 100 scholars, ten teachers, and one rector to supervise. No teaching is to be done at home, and the rector must not reside at the school with his family, but go home every Sabbath (B 6, A 5, B 3).

(vi.) The rector gives two lectures, one in the morning, one in the afternoon. The teachers go over each lesson twice with their class.* At the end of each week there is repetition of the week's work; so at the end of the month, and at the end of the summer and the winter session. No teacher must take more than ten pupils, nor have any other calling but teaching (B 7, A 10, 6, 12).

(vii.) The lads are encouraged to examine one another every evening in the day's lessons. Dull scholars are to be sent away, so as not to keep back the more forward. Teaching is to be by book, not by heart. In winter the evening lessons are to be short, on account of the light (A 9, 5, 7, 11).

(viii.) Every member of the community pays twopence yearly as school-fees, instead of the half-shekel of old. The great school is to be bought, and then let out to the separated. The separated pay for their lodging, and a share of the teachers' salaries. The rector gets 20 marks yearly, a teacher 8 (A 4, B 1, 6).

* This probably refers to the great school of the capital.

IX. — NAME LIST OF ENGLISH JEWS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

[This, besides including all the names in the book in the original forms as they occur in the records, gives likewise those I have found in items from the inedited Pipe Rolls at the Record Office, which did not seem worth while giving at length. These are indicated by a number giving the year, and a letter giving the reign (H=Henry II., R=Richard I., J=John), thus 15 H =Pipe Roll for 15th year of Henry II.=1168-9. To indicate the nature of the Pipe Roll entry, letters are sometimes added, *p.* signifying that the Jew had paid a fine for his father's charters, &c. (*Cf. Contributions*, § 2.), *d.* a payment to the King to recover a debt. A. signifies that the Jew had some of the "Debts of Aaron" (*supra* p. 159). G. that the entry refers to the Arrears of the Guildford Tallage. N. refers to the long lists of the Northampton Donum (*supra* p. 162), which I am about to publish in full in the *Revue des études juives*. Italics indicate women's names, Clarendon type those named in Hebrew records, (see also § XIX) small capitals, converts. Numbers refer to the items from the Pipe Rolls, references to pages being preceded by p.]

No.	*Name.*	*Place.*	*References.*
1.	Aáron [trissyllable]	London	p. 13.
2.	Aaron de Colcestre	Colchester	44, N.
3.	Aaron de Lincolnia	Lincoln	P. R. items 11, 24, 42, 97, 105*a*, 106, 131, 135, 136, 145, 160, 163, 174, 175, 180, 190*b*, 200, 216, 217, Pp., 57, 58, 66*bis*, 67, 70, 71, 76, 77*bis*, 79, 83, 84, 87*ter*, 90, 91, 201, 206, 211, 310. See also items in present list with A attached. For his relatives see **No. 615.**

4.	Aaron fil Delasaut	London	N.
5.	Aaron fil Deudone	Northampton	N. See No. 617.
6.	Aaron fil Isaac	Oxford	pp. 18, 256.
7.	Aaron fil Isaac	Lincoln	202
8.	Aaron fil Jacob de Bedeford	Essex	3 R*d.*
9.	Aaron fil Samuel	Essex	3 R.
10.	Aaron fil Samuel	Northampton	133.
11.	Aaron fil Yvo	Linc.	p. 239.
12.	Aaron frater Leonis de Dunstaple	Bucks.	132.
13.	Aaron le Blund	Northampton	N.
14.	**Aaron of Canterbury, R.**	Canterbury	p. 98.
15.	Abraham	Cambridge	p. 191.
16.	Abraham	Coventry	35.
17.	Abraham	London	3, 5.
18.	Abraham	Winchester	20 H. 151.
19.	Abraham	Norwich	p. 259.
20.	Abraham de Bristol	Nottingham	p. 241.
21.	Abraham de Bungeia	Norwich	N.
22.	Abraham de Clamund	Norhant.	N.
23.	Abraham de Colcestre	Colchester	44, 3 R.G.
24.	Abraham de Colcestre	Hereford	N.
25.	Abraham de Malinges	Kent	9 R.
26.	Abraham de Norwicz	Norwich	55. See No. 623.
27.	Abraham de Wilton	Somerset	p. 240.
28.	Abraham fil Aaron	Linc.	51, 152, 160.
29.	Abraham fil *Avigay*	Lond.	pp. 80, 88, 177, 240, P. R. 92, N.
30.	Abraham fil Benedict	Linc.	N.
31.	Abraham fil Benjamin	Cambridge	181.
32.	Abraham fil *Bone*	Winton	N.
33.	Abraham fil Brun	Lond.	N. p. 177.
34.	Abraham fil Cresselin	Winton	5 R.A.
35.	Abraham fil Deudone	Oxon	6 R. *d.*
36.	Abraham fil Isaac	Camb.	N.
37.	Abraham fil Jacob	Colchester	N.
38.	Abraham fil Jude de Parisiis	Somerset	p. 240 *ter.*
39.	Abraham fil Leun	Gloucester	N.
40.	Abraham fil Mag. Mosse	Winchester	N, 9 R.
41.	Abraham fil *Muriel*	Lond.	p. 227 (at Windsor)

42.	Abraham fil Rabbi [Joce]	Lond.	12, 42, 43, 47, pp. 73, 88, 90, 97, 123, 163*a*, 194, 198, 205, 236.
43.	Abraham fil Samson	London	p. 260 *bis*.
44.	Abraham fil Samson	Norhant.	N.
45.	Abraham fil Sancto	Norh.	N.
45*a*	Abraham fil Simon	Lond.	p. 260.
46.	Abraham fil Vives	Bristol	N.
47.	Abraham Gabbai	Bristol	N.
48.	Abraham gener Elie	Hereford	N.
49.	Abraham gener Josce	Canterbury	N.
50.	Abraham Hose	Gloucester	N.
51.	**Abraham Ibn Ezra, R.**	Lond.	pp. 29-38 p. 262
52.	Abraham le Vesq	Lond.	N.
53.	Abraham Levi	Cambridge	N.
54.	Abraham Levi	Lond.	N.
55.	Abraham Pernas	Lincoln	N.
56.	Abraham Quatrebuches	Lond.	N.
57.	**Abraham ben Joseph, Rabbi**	Lond.	p. 178. See Abr. fil Rabbi.
58.	Akelin fil Josce de Hant	Essex	3 R.
59.	*Alemandrina*	Colchester	3 R G.
60.	*Alfild* uxor Ysaac	Sussex	158.
61.	Amiot de Excestre	Devon	p. 239.
62.	*Anna* mater Lumbardi	Winton	N.
63.	*Antera*	Chichester	3 R.G.
64.	Aser [=Asher] Lumbard	Winton	N.
65.	*Avigai* [Abigail]	Glouc.	N.
66.	*Avigai*	Norh.	N.
67.	*Avigay* uxor Jacob	Lond.	23 pp. 80, 104, 167. See No. 628.
68.	*Beleasez* [also Belaset]	Gloucester	N. See No. 629.
69.	*Beleasez*	London	p. 237.
70.	*Beleasez* de Oxon	Oxford	35, 38, N., p. 96.
71.	*Belia* et neptis sua	Kent	4 R.G.
72.	Belia	Gloucester	N.
73.	Bendit fil Isaac	Cambr.	N.
74.	Bendit fil Mosse	Linc.	29 H.
75.	Bendit gener Mag. Mosse	Lond.	88.

75*a*.	Bendonat fil *Pulcellæ*	Linc.	200. Qy. same as 85.
76.	Benedict	Boseham	34.
77.	Benedict [*Heb.* Berachyah]	Bristol [?]	86.
78.	Benedict	Hertford	241
79.	Benedict	Leicester	p. 238.
80.	Benedict	Lond.	pp. 40, 202, 255.
81.	Benedict	Norwich	p. 230 *bis*.
82.	Benedict	Winchester	98.
83.	Benedict	York	pp. 105, 106, 119, 206, 211, P.R. 121, 3 R.A. See William.
84.	Benedict de Ballio	Linc.	62, 63, 60.
85.	Benedict Bressus fil *Pucellæ*	Lincoln	p. 76. Qy. same as 75*a*.
86.	Benedict Crispin	Kent	4 R.G.
87.	Benedict de Cantuar	Kent	48.
88.	Benedict de Chichestre	Suss.	111, 158, 215 N. See No. 630.
89.	Benedict de Faversham		4 R.G.
89*a*.	Benedict de Josse	Linc.	N.
90.	Benedict de Kant'	Linc.	N.
91.	Benedict de Linna	Norw.	3 R.
92.	Benedict de Rising	Glouc.	79, 162. See No. 632.
93.	Benedict de Rocestre		68, 9 R., 200 N.
94.	Benedict de Rummel	Cambr.	N.
95.	Benedict de Talemund	Lond. fr. Rochelle	162, 164, 164 *a*, 166-9, 171, Pp. 188, 190, 221.
96.	Benedict fil Aaron	Linc.	86, N.
97.	Benedict fil Abraham	Norh.	N.
98.	Benedict fil Deudone	Oxon	144
99.	Benedict fil Deodati	Norw.	17, pp. 60, 61, P.R. 29, 44.
100.	Benedict fil Helye		27 H, see Berachyah ben Eliayu.
101.	Benedict fil Isaac *vel* Ursell	Linc.	33, 51, p. 88, 27 H, 130, N.
102.	Benedict fil Jacobi sorori Aaroni	Linc.	33, 62, 63, 98, N.

103.	Benedict fil Josce Quatrebuches	London	43, 123, 125, 165, N.
104.	Benedict fil Josce Sorel	Glouc.	79, 162.
105.	Benedict fil *Sare*	Lond.	30, 31, 110.
106.	Benedict fil Vives le Vesq	Lond.	N.
107.	Benedict frater Aaron	Linc.	33, 51, 27 H, 183, 191, 210, N.
108.	Benedict frater Jurnet	Norw.	112, 194, N.
109.	Benedict gener Deulacresse	Bedford	214.
110.	Benedict Lengus	Kent	4 R.A.
111.	Benedict le Puncteur	Oxford	N., see Berachyah Nakdan.
112.	Benedict nepos Aaron	Linc.	192.
113.	Benedict Parvus	Lond.	9 R.
114.	Benedict Pernaz	Linc.	143, N. pp. 189-90.
115.	Benjamin fil Benjamin	Oxon	73.
116.	Benjamin Magister	Cambr.	181, N *bis*, see Benjamin of Cante-r bury. No. 639.
117.	**Benjamin of Canterbury R.**	Cantebrig.	pp. 54, see Benjamin, Mag.
118.	**Berachyah ben Eliaya**	Linc.	77, see Bened. fil Helye.
119.	**Berachyah ben Crispia Natronai ha-Nakdan**		pp. 165-73, 196-9, see Benedict le Puncteur.
120.	Benleveng	Bristol	N.
121.	*Biket* [dimin. of Rebecca] de domo Isaac	Lond.	p. 88.
122.	*Bona*	Winchester	p. 206. See No. 642.
123.	*Bona* uxor Jacob	Linc.	p. 233.
124.	Bonefei	Oxon	3 R. N.
125.	Bonel	Glouc.	N.
126.	Bonevie	Glouc.	p. 240.
127.	Bonevie de Canteb.	Cambr.	N, *bis*.
128.	Bonevie Judeus Abrahe	Kent.	4 R.
129.	Bonenfaund	Bedford	p. 216.
130.	Bonenfaund	Hertford	N.
131.	Bonenfaund	Norf.	9.

132.	Bonenfaund	Northampton	57, N.
133.	Bonfey	Worcester	65. See No. 643.
134.	Brun	Lond.	p. 41, P. R. 29, 42, 55, p. 89, P.R. 97, p. 231, N. See No. 645.
135.	Brun de Stanford	Linc.	1 R *d*, 191.
136.	Brun fil Benedicti Militis	Glouc.	79.
137.	Calamod	Colchester	3 R. G.
138.	Calamod	Lond.	p. 89.
139.	Cassi	Winton	N.
140.	*Chera* fil Ysaac	Oxon	187.
141.	*Chere*	Linc.	N.
142.	Chermin	Lond.	p. 176.
143.	*Cipora* [=Zippora] uxor Hakelot	Cambr.	N. See No. 650.
144.	*Clarice*	Lond.	p. 88.
145.	Coc nepos Aaron	Norh.	N.
146.	Coc nepos Samuel	Norh.	N.
147.	Cok de domo Abrahe	Lond.	p. 89.
148.	Coket [dim. of Coc]	Lond.	p. 89.
149.	*Comitissa* [*Heb.* Nassiah]	Cambridge	pp. 39, 41, P. R. 15 *bis*. p. 252. See No. 647.
150.	Copin [? dim. of Jacob]	Edmundsbury	66.
151.	Copin	Linc.	200.
152.	Cresse [*Heb.* Gedaliah or Solomon] de Donecastre	York	3 R.
153.	Cresse fil Ysaac de Kant		N.
154.	Cresselin [dim. of Cresse]	Winton	27, 28, 39, 69, 99 *b*, 194. See No. 649.
155.	David fil *Cypora*	Cambr.	127. *See* No 651.
156.	David gener Deulacresse	Bedford	214.
157.	Deodatus [*Heb.* Elchanan]	Lincoln	98, 113.
158.	Deodatus Episcopus	London	p. 45, P.R. 30, 31, 184. See Elchanan.
159.	Deodatus frater Abrahe	Kent	4 R.
160.	Deuaie (*Heb.* Eleasar)	Winton	N.

161.	Deudone [*Heb.* Jonathan] fil Simon de London	Colchester	N.
162.	Deudone cum pedibus tortis	Lond.	p. 89.
163.	Deudon fil Aaron	Linc.	216.
164.	Deudone fil Samuel	Norh.	217, N. *See* No. 656.
165.	*Deuicosa* uxor Quatrebuches	London	p. 89.
166.	Deulabenie [*Heb.* Berachyah]	Chichester	83, 84, 3 R, 9 R, N.
167.	Deulebenie	Kent	4 R.
168.	Deulebenie de Jujeignu	Lond.	p. 89.
169.	Deulebenie de Resing	Sussex	111, 194, p. 271.
170.	Deulacresse [Levi]	Canterbury	pp. 39, 40, N.
171.	Deulacresse [*Heb.* Gedaliah or Solomon]	Winton	131, 150.
172.	Deulacresse de Berdefeld	Birdfield	214. *See* No. 658.
173.	Deulacresse de Danemarcia		p. 58.
174.	Deulacresse de Finchlefeld	Essex	80.
175.	Deulacresse de Linna	Norf.	3 R. (donum)
176.	Deulacresse fil Benedict de Rising	Norf.	81.
177.	Deulacresse fil Benjamin	Oxon	73, 3 R*d.* 144.
178.	Dieulacresse fil Mosse de Wallingford	Oxford	pp. 68-70.
179.	Deulecres fil Yveliny	Exeter	p. 240.
180.	Deulacresse fr. Isaac de Colcestre	Essex	3 R.G.
181.	Deulacresse Kiterel	Norf.	3 R. (donum)
182.	Deulacresse Furmager	Bristol	N.
183.	Deulacresse le Evesque	Exeter	p. 240.
184.	Deulacresse le Crisp	Kent	N.
185.	Deulesalt [*Heb.* Isaiah]	Lond.	5.
186.	Deulesalt	Stamford	p. 88, *bis*, 3 R.
187.	Deulesalt Episcopus	London	p. 89, P.R. 146, N.
188.	Deulesalt fil Jacob	Colchestre	198.
188*a*	Deus adjuvet [Deusaie]	Norwich	p. 257.
189.	Deusaie fil *Rane*	Lond.	p. 89.
190.	*Dona* fil Jacob de Winton	Oxon	118.

191.	*Duzelina* vidua Mossy cum naso	Norw.	55.
192.	**Elchanan ben Isaac, R.**	Lond.	pp. 81, 82. *See* Deodatus Episcopus.
193.	Eleasar	Notts.	N.
194.	Elyas (*Heb.* Eliahu)	Glouc.	pp. 200, 241, P.R. 172. N.
195.	Elyas Blund	Linc.	p. 233.
196.	Elia de Aufai	Warwick	N.
197.	Elias de Bungay	Linc.	p. 239. N.
198.	Elie de Cicestre	Chichester	N.
199.	Elia de Coventre	Coventry	N.
200.	Elyas fil Aaron	Linc.	3 R., p. 200. N. 152.
201.	Elia fil Benedict	Linc.	N.
202.	Elyas fil Hakelot	Notts.	p. 241.
203.	Elias fil Isaac	Warw.	N.
204.	Elias fil Manasseri	Linc.	3 R.
205.	Elias fil Magri	Lond.	N.
206.	Elia fil *Margarede*	Lond.	N.
207.	Elyas fil Samarias	Devon	85.
208.	Elia frater Abraham	Linc.	N.
209.	Elyas gener *Auigai*	Glouc.	N.
210.	Elyas gener Benedicti	Chichester	3 R. G. ? same as 198.
211.	Eligai (? Elijah)	Hereford	N.
212.	*Ester* fil Jacob	Chichester	3 R. G.
213.	Eudon de Warwic	Warwick	N.
214.	Flamengi "Apprenticii"	Kent	4 R. G.
215.	Fleming	Hertford	p. 241.
216.	*Fluer de Liz*	Bedford	N.
217.	*Flurie*	Linc.	N.
218.	*Flurie*	Norw.	N.
219.	*Fluria* fil Manasseri	Colchester	3 R. G.
220.	*Flurie* uxor Isaac	Linc.	N.
221.	*Fluria* uxor Ysaac	Winton	125 *a*.
222.	*Floria* uxor Vives	Lond.	pp. 89, 241.
	Episcopi		
223.	Garcon [?]	Kent	p. 175.
224.	*Gentil*	Winchester	10.
225.	*Gentilia* fil Samsonis	York	161.
226.	Gosce fil Isaac de Cant'	Canterbury	N. *See* 356.

227.	Gosce fil Leun	Warwick	N. *See* Josce fil Leun.
228.	Hakelin [dim. of Isaac] fil Benedicti Militis	Lond.	p. 89.
229.	Hakelin fil Josce Quatrebuches	Lond.	45, 46, 133.
230.	Hakelin fil Jurnet	Norw.	163*a*.
231.	Hakelot	Reading (?)	pp. 39, 40 *bis*, 41 *ter*, 42 *bis*
232.	Hamyot fil Alexandrini	Glouc.	p. 200
233.	*Hana* de Burges	Linc.	N.
234.	Hanechin		p. 223
235.	*Henna*	Oxon	p. 230
236.	*Henna* Curj.	Lond.	p. 89.
237.	Henna de domo Abraham fil Ep'i	Lond.	p. 89.
238.	Hoppecole	York.	p. 233 see Samuel Hoppecole.
239.	Hosppitard	Lond.	p. 89.
240.	Isàac [trisyllable]	Hereford	157.
241.	Isaac	Winchester	20 H. 125*a*, see Isaac de Oxon.
242.	**Isaac ben Joseph**		p. 77, see Isaac fil Rabbi.
242*a*	**Isaac ben Yomtob R.**		p. 241-2, see Isaac de Jueigny.
243.	Ysaac Blund	York	p. 233
244.	Ysaac Cærini	Winton	N.
245.	Ysaac Crespin	Devon	203.
245*a*	Isaac Cyrographarius	Lond.	pp. 234-5.
246.	Isaac de Bedeford	Bucks	134.
247.	Isaac de Beuerlacu	Winton	41.
248.	Isaac de Bungay	Hereford	N.
249.	Isaac de Cantreburia		48, N.
250.	Isaac de Colcestre	Colchester	42, 49, 97, 3 R.G. 198, 213, N., see No. 669.
251.	Ysaac de Hicch	Bedford	88 N.
252.	Isaac de Jueigny	Lond.	p. 88, see R. Isaac ben Yomtob.
253.	Isaac de Notingeham	Northampton	N.
254.	Isaac de Norhanton	Northampton	p. 227, Qy. same as preceding.
255.	Isaac de Oxon	Winchester	182, N. See No. 673.

257*a*	Ysaac de Stamford	Northampton	p. 240
256.	Ysaac de Rocestre	? Winchester	41.
257.	Ysaac de Russie	? Winchester	41, see Isaac of Tchernigof.
258.	Isaac de St. Edmundo		134.
259.	Isaac Episcopus	Bristol	N. *bis.*
260.	Isaac fil Abraham	Norw.	p.
261.	Isaac fil Bonefie	Worcester	p. 3 R*p.*
262.	Isaac fil *Comitisse*	Linc.	33.
263.	Isaac fil Cresselin	Winchester	p. 239. *See* No 675.
264.	Isaac fil *Joie*	Linc.	p. 239.
265.	Isaac fil Josce	Linc.	N.
266.	Isaac fil Josce	*Brist.*	*N.*
267.	Isaac fil Juda	*Brist.*	*N.*
268.	Isaac fil Jurnet	*Norw.*	*p.*
269.	Isaac fil Leun	*Cambr.*	*N.*
270.	Isaac fil Mosse	Essex	3 *R.A.*
271.	Ysaac fil Mosse	Bedford	N.
272.	Ysaac fil Mosse	York	3 R.A., p. 211.
273.	Isaac fil *Pulcelle*		p. 58.
274.	Isaac fil Rabbi Joce	Lond.	3 p. 25, B.R. 8, 12, 22, 24, 42, 89, 100, 123, 189 pp. 60, 77, 134, 135, 137. *See* No. 274.
275.	Isaac fil Salomon	Linc.	N.
276.	Isaac fil Sancto	Norhant.	N.
277.	Isaac fil Sancto	Rutland	9 R., 218.
278.	Isaac fil Simon de Stanford	Northampt.	1 R*d*, 192, 199, p. 240, N.
279.	Ysaac fil Simon	Norw.	3 RA.
280.	Ysaac frater Ursel de Bungeia	Norw.	N.
281.	Ysaac Furmager	Bristol	N.
282.	Isaac gener Auigai	Lond.	N.
283.	Ysaac Juvenis	Cambr.	N.
284.	Isaac le Gros	Kent	N.
285.	Isaac Medicus	Lond.	p. 88.
286.	Isaac Magister puerorum	Berdefelt	214
287.	Isaac Merdenhostel	Norhant.	N.
288.	Isaac Quatrebuches	Lond.	N.

289.	Isaac Senex	Cambr.	N. *See* No. 667.
290.	**Isaac of Tchernigoff, R.**		p. 66. See Ysaac de Russie.
291.	*ISABELLA*, convert		37.
292.	Israel fil Abraham	Lond.	125.
293.	Jacob	Bedford	60. *See* No. 676.
294.	Jacob	Canterbury	48.
295.	Jacob	Lincoln	98, 184, N.
296.	Jacob	London	2.
297.	Jacob	Newcastle	99*a*.
298.	Jacob	Newport	pp. 39, 40 *bis*, P.R. 21, 53.
299.	**Jacob b. Moses**	Norwich	p. 216. *See* Jurnet of Norwich.
300.	Jacob de Bungeia	Norhant.	N.
301.	Jacob de Hereford	Wilts.	p. 239, 240.
302.	Jacob de Linc.	Linc.	N.
303.	Jacob de Paris	Lond.	p. 88.
304.	Jacob de Westminstre	Lond.	p. 89.
305.	Jacob de Winton	Oxford	118, p. 239, 240. N. *See* No. 684.
306.	Jacob fil Benedict	Linc.	29 H, 3 R *d*, p.
307.	Jacob fil Bonefei	Worcester	3 R *p*.
308.	Jacob fil Deudon	Norhant.	N *bis*.
309.	Jacob fil Ysaac	Colchester	3 R G.
310.	Jacob fil Josce de Kant	Colchester	N.
311.	Jacob fil Josce	Bristol	N.
312.	Jacob fil Manasse	Cambr.	181, N. *See* No. 677.
313.	Jacob fil Samuel	Linc.	29 H.
314.	Jacob fil Samuel	Norhant.	109, 171, 185, pp. 232, 234. N *quater*.
315.	Jacob fil Samuel de Oxon	Somerset	p 240.
316.	Jacob fil Simon	Norhant.	N.
316*a*.	Jacob fil Ursell	Winch.	20 H. *ap. Cal. Doc. Scotl.* p. 19.
317.	Jacob fil Vives	Colchester	N.
318.	Jacob fil Yveliny	Exeter	p 240.
319.	Jacob Levi	Cambr.	N.
320.	Jacob Presbyter	London	55. pp. 202-3.
321.	Jacob Scriptor	Lond.	p. 237.
322.	Jacob Senex	Linc.	160.

323.	Jacob Sororius Aaron	Linc.	62, 63, 72. *See* No. 681.
324.	Jacob Sororius Joscej fil Morelli	Norf.	3 R. (dq̃um).
325.	Janem	Glouc.	N.
326.	Jagunce	Linc.	N.
327.	Jeremias	Bucks.	37.
328.	Jheremias	Dunstable	77.
329.	Jeremias de Grimesby	Linc.	29 H.
330	JOHANNES convert	Herts.	82*a*.
331.	*Joia*	Linc.	199 N. *bis*.
332.	Jornet	Winch.	39, 20 H. 9 R.
333.	Josce	Gloucester	16 N.
334.	Josce	York	pp. 58, 101, 117, 118, 119, 126, 127, P R. 108, 170, 193 p. 211. *See* No. 695.
335.	Josce Barlibrod	Norw.	194.
336.	Josce Crispin	Norw.	119.—*See* Josce fil Crispin.
337.	Josce de Bristol	Somerset	p. 240. *See* No. 687.
338.	Josce de Bungeia	Norw.	3 R.A.
339.	Josce de domo Samson	Lond.	p. 89.
340.	Josce de Leicestre	Notts.	N.
341.	Josce de Saumur	Kent	4 R.G.
341*a*.	Josce Episcopus	Linc.	N.
342.	Josce fil Abraham	Lond.	N.
343.	Josce fil *Auigai*	Glouc.	N.
344.	Josce fil *Belaset*	Glouc.	N.
345.	Josce fil Benedict	Linc.	N.
346.	Josce fil Beneit	Norw.	49.
347.	Josce fil Benedict	Warw.	N.
348.	Josce fil Benjamin	Oxon.	79, 93.
349.	Josce fil *Clarice*	Lond.	p. 89.
350.	Josce fil Crispin	Norw.	N.—*See* Josce Crispin.
351.	Josce fil David	Lond.	p. 89.
352.	Josce fil Deudone	Norhant.	N.
353.	Josce fil Deulacresse	Norhant.	N.
354.	Josce fil Deulesalt	Lond.	N *bis*.
355	Jocy fil *Gentil*	Linc.	p. 241.
356.	Josce fil Isaac	Kent	N.

357.	Josce fil Isaac	Lond.	156 p 204, 217. N.
358.	Josce fil Josce	Glouc.	N.
359	Josce fil Leun	Warw.	4 R.A, N.
360.	Josce fil *Lia*	Bristol	105.
361.	Josce fil Magri.	Lond.	N.
362.	Josce fil Manasse	Cambr.	N.
363.	Josce fil Medici	Lond.	p. 89.
364.	Josce fil Mosse	Bucks.	3 Rd., 132.
365.	Josce fil Samuel	Linc.	210.
366.	Josce fil Samuel	Norhant.	N.
367.	Josce fil Morell	Norwich	78.
368.	Josce Gaudi de Cantuar	Lond. & Cant.	N.
369.	Josce gener Isaac	Cambr.	N.
370.	Josce gener *Joie*	Linc.	N.
371.	Josce le Lung	Northant.	N.
372.	Josce Malmerri	Kent	4 R.G.
373.	Josce Mauritij	Lond.	p. 89.
374.	Josce Salvage	Linc.	50, 61.
375.	Josce Quatrebuches	Lond.	29, 46. *See* No. 694.
376.	Joseph Aaron		159 p.
377.	**Joseph ben Jacob**	Lond.	pp. 29, 30.
378.	Judas	Bristol	128 ? same as Judas Gabbay. *See* No. 698.
379.	Judas	Cambr.	211 p. N *bis*.
380.	Judas	Leicester	190.
381.	Judas	Northant.	190 ?
382.	Judas fil Belaset	Glouc.	N. *See* No. 699.
383.	Judas fil Benedicti	Warw.	N.
384.	Judas fil Deudone	Essex	147, 212.
385.	Judas frater Deulacresse	Winton	20 H. 150.
386.	Judas Gabbay	Brist.	N.
387.	Judas Levesq	Linc.	120, N *bis*. *See* No. 700.
388.	*Juetta* uxor Samuel	Exeter	p. 239.
389.	*Juette* uxor Abraham	Worcester	N.
390.	Jurnet	Kent	N.
391.	Jurnet de Norwicz	Norwich	22, 29, 55, 67, 87, 94, 166, pp. 61, 94, N. *See* Jacob b. Mosesand No. 701.
392.	Jurnet fil Episcopi	Lond.	p. 89.

393.	Justelin fil Mosse	Glouc.	N.
394.	Jwe [Jew]	Glouc.	N.
395.	Kanonimos[Kalonymos]	Worcester.	N.
396.	Kersun [? Gershon]		p. 58. *a*
397.	Leo [*Heb.* Judah] Aurifaber	Lond.	p. 207.
398.	Leo Blund	Lond.	pp. 70, 88, 9 R.N.
399.	Leo de Cicestre		204.
400.	Leo de Glocestre		140. *See* 703.
401.	Leo de Londinio		83, 84.
402.	Leon de Punteise	Lond.	p. 89.
403.	Leo de St. Edmunds	Norw.	3 R. A.
404.	Leo de Warwic		pp. 229, 240 *bis.* *See* No. 705.
405.	Leo de Wincestre		126.
406.	Leun fil Bonifacie	Worcester	N.
407.	Leo fil Josce	Cambr.	3 R*d.* *See* No. 702.
408.	Liun fil *Margarede*	Lond.	N.
409.	Levi de Devises	Lond.	p. 89.
410.	Lumbard de Wincastre		N. ? = Aser Lumbard.
411.	Mahy [?] fil Bonefei	Worcester	3 R*p.*
412.	Manasser	Bristol	N.
413.	Manasser	London	3.
414.	Manasser de Cicestre		N.
414*a.*	Maneser de Gipeswich	Suff.	55.
415.	Manaser de Nicole		N.
416.	Manaser de Stamford		N.
417.	Manasser de Wincestre		N.
418.	Manaser fil Almest [?]	Linc.	N.
419.	Manaser fil Benjamin	Cambr.	181. *See* No. 708.
420.	Manaser fil Deudone	Glouc.	p. 239.
421.	Manasser fil Jude	Linc.	29 H., 1 R*p.*, 191.
422.	Manser fil Leon	Linc.	176 p. 201.
422*a.*	Manaser Grassus	Linc.	63, 3 R., p. 239, N.
423.	Manasser Mosse	Linc.	N.
423*a.*	Manasses	Oxford	p. 5.
424.	*Margaret*	Lond.	58, 114. *See* No. 711.
425.	*Margaret* fil Jurnet	Norw.	p. 215. *See* Miriam bath Jacob.
426.	*Margaret* uxor Benedicti fil *Sarrae*	Sussex	110.
427.	*Maria* fil *Belesez*	Glouc.	N.

428.	Martiri	Linc.	N.
429.	Matatias	Linc.	113 N.
430.	Matatias fil Salomon	Linc.	N. Qy. same as preceding.
431.	Makar'	Norhant.	N. *bis*.
432.	Meir fil Samuel Deulacresse	Sudhants.	5 R. A.
433.	Meir frater Benedicti	York	3 R. A.
434.	Melin	Hereford	N.
434*a*.	**Menachem, R.**	Lond.	pp. 287-9.
435.	Meus	Lincoln	64.
436.	Meus fil Benjamin	Cantuar.	N.
437.	Meus gener Jacob de Cant		N.
438.	Mirabella	Newport	p. 41..
439.	**Miriam bath Jacob**	Norwich	p. 215 *See* Margaret fil Jurnet.
440.	*Miriana* fil Ysaac		185.
441.	Morel		9, p. 30.
442.	Morel	Norwich	119.
443.	Morel	Hertford	N.
444.	Morel	Wells.	p. 223.
445.	Moss de domo Samson	London	p. 89.
446.	**Moses ben Isaac R.**		pp. 66.
447.	**Moses ben Yomtob R.**	London	pp. 89, 289, 292. *See* Moses Nakdan.
447*a*	**Moses de Paris R.**		p. 225. *See* No. 457.
448.	Mosse de Bungeia	Norwich	N.
449.	Mosse de Cantebregia	London	156, 190*a*, N.
450.	Mosse	Boseham ?	32.
451.	Mosse de Cicestre		
452.	Mosse de Glocestre		140, 196, N *bis*. p. 200 *bis*.
453.	Mosse de Hereford		32.
454.	Mosse de Hyspaitornis	Lond.	p. 89.
455.	Mosse	Norw.	p.
456.	Mosse de Newport	Essex ?	214.
457.	Mosse de Paris		pp. 225, 229. *See* No. 447*a*.
458.	Mosse de Wallingford	Oxford	pp. 69, 191, N. *See* No. 719.
459.	Mosse Fillastre	Glouc.	N.

460.	Mosse fil Aaron	Winch.	131.
461.	Mosse fil Benedict	Linc.	160.
462.	Mosse fil Benjamin	Glouc.	p. 95. *See* No. 714.
463.	Mosse fil Jacob	Glouc.	N.
464.	Mosse fil Jacob	Northampt.	N *bis*. *See* No. 715.
465.	Mosse fil Levi	Warw.	p. 240.
466.	Mosse fil Mosse	Bucks.	132.
467.	Moyses fil *Sarœ*	Lond.	30, 31.
468.	Mosse Leui	Lond.	N.
469.	Mosse Morin	Chichester	3 R.G.
470.	**Moses Nakdan**	Lond.	p. 282.
471.	Mosse gen. Bonenfaunt	Northampt.	N.
472.	Mosse Juvenis	Glouc.	N.
473.	*Muriel*	Lond.	163*a*, 182.
474.	*Muriel* uxor Juda	Glouc.	N.
475.	*Muriel* uxor Jurnet	Norw.	p. 165.
476.	*Murien* fil Isaac	Lond.	N. *bis*.
477.	Naemia [*Heb* Nehemiah]	Notts.	N.
478.	Nichol fil Isaac	Linc.	158.
479.	NICHOLAS, convert	Kent.	36 p. 96.
480.	Peitevin de Eya	York	83, p. 211, 3 R. A.
481.	Peitevin fil Jacob	Linc.	21 & 29 H. N. *bis* p.
482.	Peter	Hereford	N.
483.	Peter Blund	Bedford	N. *bis*.
484.	Peter Blund	London	153, 215 pp. 241.
485.	PETER Convert	Essex	p. 96.
486.	Peter de Cantebrig	Linc.	N.
487.	Peter fil Isaac	Lond.	N.
488.	Peter fil Mosse	Bedf.	N. No. 723.
489.	Peter fil Samuel	Norhant.	N.
490.	Piers (?) Deulesalt	Exeter	40.
491.	Pipili	Winch.	N.
492.	Potelin fil Benedicti militis	Lond.	p. 89.
493.	*Precieuse*	Brist.	N.
494.	*Pucella*	Norhant.	p. 211 N.
495.	*Pulcella*	Linc.	27 H., N. p. 58. *See* No. 724.
496.	*Pulcella* fil Jacob	Norhant.	N.
497.	Rahama	Norhant.	N.
498.	*Regina*	Oxon	p. 84.
499.	*Riche* fil Isaac pernas	Linc.	N.
500.	ROBERT Convert	Lond.	p. 12.

501.	Rubigotsce	Lond.	3 *bis.* pp. 23-5, 27, 217, 259, R. Joseph of Orleans *See* No. 725.
502.	Sabecoc Salomon, Salemum	Heref.	157, N. see Solomon.
503.	Samarias	Devon	85 *See* No. 727.
504.	Samson	Lond.	N.
505.	Samson de Bungeia	Norf.	112, 168.
506.	Samson de Donecastre	Yorks.	3 R.A.
507.	Samson de Eya	Norw.	3 R.A.
508.	Samson de Nieweland	Kent	201, N.
509.	Samson de Norwich Bissop		3 R. *d.*
510.	Samson de Rume	Warw.	N. *See* No. 729.
511.	Samson Episcopus	Linc.	N. *bis. See* No. 734
512.	Samson fil Aaron	Lond.	N.
513.	Samson fil Brin	Lond.	p. 89.
514.	Samson fil Samuel		14.
515.	Samson frater Brin	Lond.	p. 176.
516.	Samson frater Jacobi Presbyteri	Norw.	p. 84.
517.	Samuel	Cambridge.	p. 191.
518.	Samuel	Exeter.	R. 239. *See* No. 733
519.	Samuel	Northampton	38, 114, pp. 84, 85. *See* No. 735
520.	Samuel	Linc.	216.
521.	Samuel	Norw.	3 R.A.
522.	Samuel	Oxon	
523.	Samuel de Hereford		N.
524.	Samuel de Stamford	Linc.	95, 199.
525.	Samuel de Wallingford		N.
526.	Samuel Episcopus	Notts.	N.
527.	Samuel fil Abraham	Lond.	124, p. 88, 9 R.
528.	Samuel fil Bonefei	Worc.	3 R *p.*
529.	Samuel fil David	Cambr.	N.
530.	Samuel fil Isaac	Cambr.	N.
531.	Samuel fil Jacob	Canterb.	N.
532.	Samuel fil *Joie*	Kent	4 R.G.
533.	Samuel fil Josce	Warw.	N.
534.	Samuel fil Magri	Norw.	N.
535.	Samuel fil Mosse	Glouc.	R. p. 200.
536.	Samuel fil Mosse	Worc.	N.
537.	Samuel fil Petri	Norhant.	N.

538.	Samuel fil Sampson	Warw.	N.
539.	Samuel fil Solomon	Lond.	p. 88.
540.	Samuel le Pointur	Bristol	N. see Samuel Nakdan.
541.	Samuel le Prestre	Norw.	N.
542.	Samuel Levi	Warw.	N.
543.	Samuel Multrun		163 *a*.
544.	**Samuel Nakdan, R.**		p. 162 see Samuel le Pointier.
545.	Samuel socer Benedicti	York	3 R. A.
545*a*.	Sante de Gurnon	Cambridge	181
546.	Santo	Edmondsbury	53, 66, 112.
547.	Santo fil Solomon	Norhant.	N. *See* No. 738.
548.	*Sarra* [Sarah]	Linc.	113.
549.	*Sarra*	Lond.	N. *See* No. 739.
550.	*Sarra* fil Yveliny	Exeter	p. 240.
551.	*Sara* uxor Salom. d' Estampes	Lond.	p. 89.
552.	Seignuret	Cambr.	5 R. *d*.
553.	Seignuret	Edmondsbury	134.
554.	Serfdeu [*Heb.* Obadiah]	Chichester	3 R. G.
555.	Serfdeu	Hants	26.
556.	Serfdeu	Linc.	200.
557.	**Simeon R. of Trier.**		p. 23.
558.	Simon fil Jacob	Norhant.	p. 238. *See* No. 741
559.	Simon Levi	Worc.	N.
560.	Simon nep. Jacob	Canterb.	N.
561.	Simund de Maaling	Kent	N. *bis*.
562.	*Slema*	Edmondsbury	66, 94, 3 R. A.
563.	*Slema*	Lond.	N. *bis*.
553*a*	Solomon	Arundel	158.
564.	Solomon	Bedford	60.
565.	**Solomon ben Isaac, R.**		p. 26.
566.	Salomon de Beuerle	Winch.	N.
567.	Salom. de Cycestre		3 R. G.
568.	Salom. de Edene	Linc.	p. 201.
569.	Solomon de Gipeswich		55.
570.	Solomon de Paris	Linc.	p. 77.
571.	Salemun de Warwick	Warw.	N.
572.	Salemun de Warwic	Norhant.	N. *ter*.
573.	Salomon Episcopus	Winch.	N.
574.	Salomon fil Cresselin	Winch.	141, 9 R. *d*.
575.	Salomon fil Isaac	Brist.	N.
576.	Salomon fil Magri	Lond.	N.

577. Salomon gen. Isaac	Kent	N.
577*a*. Strabaen	Rising	p. 271.
577*b*. THEOBALD Convert	Cambridge	p. 257.
578. Ursel	Linc.	183.
578*a* Ursel	Lond.	p. 232.
579. Ursel	Norf.	26, p. 57.
580. Ursel de Bedeford		N.
581. Ursel de Bungeia		N.
582. Ursel de Gipeswich	Bucks.	134.
583. Ursel fil Brun	Norf	112.
584. Ursel fil Helye	Linc.	27 H, N *bis*.
585. Ursel fil Meus	Norw.	3 R A. *See* No. 744
586. Ursel fil *Pucellæ*	Linc.	113.
587. Ursel gener. Jacob de Winton	Oxon	118.
588. Vivard gener. Mosse de London	Glouc.	R. p. 200.
589. Vivelot fil Isaac	Glouc.	N.
590. Vives [*Heb.* Haim]	Cambridge	pp 38, 39.
591. Vives	Cologne	pp. 23, 199
592. Vives	Lond.	30, 31
593. Vives	Sudhants	5 R A.
594. Vives	Sussex	189.
595. Vives de Hamton	Cambr.	N.
596. Vives de Paris	Lond.	p. 240
597. Vives fil Aaron	Linc.	p. 87, 31 H., pp. 231, 232, 233. N. *bis*.
598. Vives fil Benedicti	Glouc.	N.
599. Vives fil David	Cambr.	127.
600. Vives fil Deulacresse	Linc	63.
601. Vives fil Isaac	Colch.	N.
602. Vives fil Jacob	Colchester	N 9 R.
903. Vives fil Jacob	Norhant.	133.
604. Vives fil Josce	Cambr.	127.
605. Vives fil *Margarede*	Lond.	N.
606. Vives gener Mosse	Glouc.	N.
607. Vives Scriptor	Linc.	N
608. Vivus Scriptor Helye	Chichester	3 R. G., 215.
609. WILLIAM Convert	York	p. 105 see Benedict de Eboraco.
610. **Yomtob R.**	Lond	p. 283.
611. **Yomtob of Joigny, R.**	York	pp. 109, 112, 125, 131.

612.	Yvelin	Sussex	158.
613.	Yuo de Linc.	Linc.	p. 239. *See* No. 748

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

[Besides the names directly mentioned in the above list we get information of the existence of Jews from references to their relations, sons, daughters, nephews, &c. Thus a name like 'Fluria quæ fuit uxor Vives levesq' informs us of the existence of a third Jewish Bishop of London, Vives, in addition to Deulesalt and Abraham mentioned on p. 89. The following list summarises this additional information. The names in the last column are from the preceding list, and indicate sons or daughters (in itals.) if no other designation precedes: *ux.* indicates wife; *frat.* brother; *gen.* son-in-law; *sor.* brother-in-law; *nep.* nephew.

615.	Aaron	Lincoln	Abraham, Benedict, Deudone, Elias, Vives, *frat.* Benedict, *sor.* Jacob. See No. 3.
616.	Aaron	Lond.	Samson. See No. 1.
617.	Aaron	Norhant.	*nep.* Coc. No. 5.
618.	Aaron	Winch.	Mosse.
619.	Abraham	Kent	*fr.* Deodatus.
620.	Abraham	Linc.	*fr.* Elias.
621.	Abraham	Lond.	Samuel.
622.	Abraham	Norhant.	Benedict.
623.	Abraham	Norw.	Isaac, Meus. No. 26.
624.	Abraham	Worcester	*ux.* Jeutta.
625.	Alemandrinus	Glouc.	Hamyot.
626.	*Antera*		tres Filii. No. 63.
627.	*Avigay*	Glouc.	Josce *gen.* Elias.
628.	*Avigay*	Lond.	Abraham *vir.* Jacob, *gen.* Isaac. No. 67.

629. *Belasez* Glo

630. Benedict Chi
631. Benedict Ess
632. Benedict Glou
633. Benedict Linc

634. Benedict miles Lond

635. Benedict Risin
636. Benedict Warwi
637. Benedict York

638. Beneit Norw.
639. Benjamin, Magister Cambr.

640. Benjamin Glouc.
641. Benjamin Oxon

642. *Bona* Winch.
643. Bonefey Worc.

644. Bonefacie Worc.
645. Brun Lond.

646. Brun Norf.
647. *Comitissa* Cambr.

648. Cresp... Norw.
649. Cresselin Winch.

650. *Cypora* Cambr.
651. David Cambr.

652. David Lond.
653. Deodatus Norw.
654. Deudone Essex
655. Deudone Glouc.

Northampt.	Aaron, Jacob, Josce. No. 164.
Oxon	Abraham, Benedict.
Berdefeld	*gen.* Benedict, Jacob. No. 172.
Winch.	*fr.* Judas. No. 171.
Lond.	Aaron, Josce.
Hereford	*gen.* Abraham.
Linc.	Benedict, Ursel.
Lond.	Jurnet.
Linc.	Jocy.
Camb.	*ux.* Cypore.
Notts.	Elyas.
Cambr.	Abraham, Benedict, *Miriana*, Samson, *gen.* Josce. No. 289. Cresse, Gosce.
Colch.	Vives *fr.* Deulacresse. No. 250.
Glouc.	Elie, Vivelot.
Linc.	Aaron, Benedict (see Ursel), *Richeux.* Fluria
Lond.	Josce *Murien* Peter. No. 274.
Oxon.	Aaron, *Chera.* No. 255.
Warw.	Elia.
Winchester.	*ux.* Fluria. No. 263.
Bedf.	Aaron. No. 273.
Cambs.	Samuel *gen.* Meus. No. 312.
Chich.	*Ester.*
Colch.	Abraham, Deulasant, Jacob, Vives
Glouc.	Mosse.
Linc.	Benedict, Peter *ux.* Bona. No. 323.
London	*ux* Avigay.. Qy. 296.

Aaron]

683.	Jacob	Norhant	Mosse, *Pulcella*, Simon, Vives.
684.	Jacob de Winton	Oxon.	*Drua gen.* Ursel. No. 305.
685.	*Joie*	Kent	Samuel.
686.	*Joie*	Linc.	Ysaac *gen.* Josce. No. 331.
687.	Josce	Brist.	Isaac. No. 337.
688.	Josce	Cambr.	Leo, Vives. No. 367.
689.	Josce de Kant'	Essex.	Akelin *gen.* Abraham.
690.	Josce	Glouc.	Josce.
691.	Josce	Linc.	Isaac.
692.	Josce	Warw.	Samuel.
693.	Josce	York	*ux* Anna. No. 334
694.	Josce Quatrebuches	Lond.	Benedict, Hakelin. No. 375.
695.	Josce fil Morel	Norw.	*sor.* Jacob.
696.	Josce Sorel	Glouc.	Benedict.
697.	Judá de Paris		Abraham.
698.	Juda	Brist.	Isaac. No. 378.
699.	Juda	Glouc.	*ux.* Muriel. No. 382.
700.	Juda	Linc.	Manasser. No. 387
701.	Jurnet	Norw.	Hakelin, Isaac, *Margaret, ux.* Muriel *fr.* Benedict. No. 391.
702.	Leun	Cambr.	Isaac. No. 407.
703.	Liun	Glouc.	Abraham. No. 450
704.	Leon	Linc.	Manasser.
705.	Leo	Warw.	Josce. No. 404.
706.	Leo de Dunstable	Bucks.	*fr.* Aaron.
707.	Magistri	Lond.	Josce, Salumun, Samuel (Norw.)
708.	Manasser	Cambridge	Jacob, Josce. No. 419.
709.	Manasser	Colch.	*Fluria.*
710.	Manasser	Linc.	Elyas.
711.	*Margarede*	Lond.	Elia, Vives. No. 424.
712.	Mosse	Bedford	Isaac, Peter.
713.	Mosse	Bucks.	Josce Mosse.

714.	Mosse	Glouc.	Justitia, Samuel, *gen.* Vivard. No. 462.
715.	Mosse	Norhant.	Isaac. No. 464.
716.	Mosse	Worcester	Samuel.
717.	Mosse	York	Isaac.
718.	Mosse c. Naso	Norw.	*ux.* Duzelina.
719.	Mosse de Wallingford	Oxon	Deulacresse. No. 458.
720.	Mosse de Lond.	Glouc.	*gen.* Vives.
721.	Mosse, Mag.	Lond.	Abraham (Wint.), *gen.* Bendit.
722.	Meus	Norw.	Ursel.
723.	Peter	Norhant.	Samuel. No. 489.
724.	*Pulcella*	Linc.	Benedonat, Isaac, Ursel. No. 495.
725.	Rabbi [Joce]	Lond.	Abraham, Isaac. No. 501.
726.	*Rana*	Lond.	Deusaie.
727.	Samarias	Devon	Elyas. No. 503.
728.	Samson.	Norhant.	Abraham.
729.	Samson	Warw.	Samuel. No. 510.
730.	Samson	York	*Gentil.*
731.	Samuel		Samson.
732.	Samuel	Essex	Abraham.
733.	Samuel	Exeter	*ux.* Juetta. No. 518.
734.	Samuel	Linc.	Benjamin, Jacob, Josce, Judas. No. 511.
735.	Samuel	Norhant	Aaron, Deudone, Jacob, Josce, Peter *nep.* Coc. No. 519.
736.	Samuel	Oxon	Jacob.
737.	Samuel Deulacresse	Winch.	Meir.
738.	Sancto	Norhant	Aaron, Isaac. No. 547.
739.	*Sara*	Lond.	Benedict, Mosse. No. 549.
740.	Simon	Lond.	Abraham, Deudone (Colc).
741.	Simon	Norhant.	Yssac, Jacob. No. 558.

742. Simon	Norw.	Yssac.
743. Simon de Stanford		Isaac (Linc.)
744. Ursel	Norw.	Josce. No. 585.
745. Vives	Brist.	Abr.
746. Vives le Vesq.	Lond.	Benedict*ux* Flurie
747. Yvoliny	Essex	Deulacresse Jacob
748. Yvo	Linc.	Aaron. No. 613.

Such a long list as the above contains much information, apart from the names themselves. But these have their points of interest and instruction in themselves. As with most early mediæval names—Jewish or Gentile—they are mainly "Christian," or first names, with an explanatory addition, derived from birthplace, office, or personal peculiarity. The favourite ones were Scriptural, as may be shown by the following list of the most frequent:—Isaac (59); Josce, *i.e.*, Joseph (55); Abraham (49); Benedict, or Bendit, the Latinised form of Berachyah (49); Jacob (40); Moses, Moss, or Mosse (38); Samuel (37); Vives, Vivard, Vivelot, various forms for the Hebrew *Chaim*, "Life" (23); Elias (19); Aaron (18); Deulacres (Heb. *Gedaliah*) (17); Manesser (17); Samson (16); Solomon (15); besides Aser (Asher), Benjamin, David, Juda, Jeremias, Naemia, Simon. Other Biblical forms occur in somewhat strange disguise, as Deulesalt, *i.e.*, Dieu-le-saut, for Isaiah; Serfdeu for Obadiah; Dieudone, or Deodonatus, for Elchanan; Hakelin, a diminutive for Isaac; Kersun, probably equivalent to Gershon, Cok and Coket, probably both diminutives of Isaac in its Hebrew form. The women's names are less distinctively Biblical, Anna or Heana; Avigay (Abigail); Biket (diminutive of Rebecca); Cipora (Zippora); Ester; Lia (Leah), Miriam, and Sara, forming but a short list, contrasted with Alemandina, Alfild, Antera, Belia (Belle), Beleasez, Chere, Clarise, Comitissa, Denicosa, Dona, Dune, Duzelina, Fleur de Lis, Fluria or Floria, Gentil, Joie, Juette, Margaret, Maria, Mirabilla, Muriel, Precieuse,

Pulcelle, Rana (Reine), Regina, Riche, Slema. These names of Jewesses indicate the main source whence the list of Anglo-Jewish names was derived, Anglo-Norman French. Thus, among the men we find such first names as Amiot, Bonefei (Bonfoi), Bonevie, Bonenfaund (*bon enfant*), Hospitard, Justelin, Morel, Peitivin, Piers, Seignuret (dim. of *seigneur*), Ursel, Yvo, and Yvelin, not to mention the French translations of Hebrew names, like Deulebenie, Dieulacresse, Deusaie, Serfdeu, etc. English is indeed conspicuous by its absence in the list, except for Alfild, among the ladies, and Jurnet (Jornet), among the men, if the latter be, as has been suggested, derived from "jornet," a jerkin or jacket, and so an appropriate *Kinnui* (vernacular form) of Jacob. Peter occurs in several cases, but this may be due to the Latin as well as to the English. One name is from the Greek Kanonimos, evidently a mistake for Kalonymos (Hebrew, *Shemtob*), but this was probably derived from Germany, where it was introduced by the well-known family of that name from Magna Græcia. Three of the first names imply foreign origin, Flaming, Lumbard, Peitivin (Poitou). I may conclude what I have to say on the "Christian" names of the English Jews by drawing up a list of those about which I know not what to say for their peculiarity, Benleveng, Calamod, Cassi, Chermin, Eligai, Eudon, Hanechin, Janem, Jagunce, Mahey, Makar, Martiri, Melin, Meus, Pipili, Potelin, Santo. Brun is almost the only descriptive first name, though one would have thought most Jews of that date were "brun."

More information is to be gained or conjectured from the surnames. The majority of these, indeed, give rather the place of domicile of their bearers; Abraham de Bungay, Dieulacresse de Wallingford, and so on. Some, again, are merely distinguishing epithets, as Isaac Senex of Cambridge, as distinguished from Isaac Juvenis of the same town. Other descriptive titles read

strangely in their Latin forms: Mosse cum Naso (probably "Nosey Moses"), Deudone cum pedibus tortis (? "Bandy Deudones"), Manasser Grassus ("Fat Manasser," cf. "Isaac le Gros"), Benedict Lengus ("Long Benedict"). Some surnames refer to office; several have the title Bishop, two that of Presbyter, the exact meaning of which will concern us later. One, Isaac of London, is called Medicus, two at Bristol are called Furmager, probably a corruption of "fermager," or ferm agent, a collector of taxes. Hebrew officials are also in evidence; there is an Abraham and a Benedict Pernas (Warden) of Lincoln, an Abraham Gabbai (Treasurer of Congregation) at Bristol. Two men have the addition of Puncteur, or Pointur, which I identify with Nakdan. One of these I identify with Berachyah Nakdan, the other with Samuel Nakdan, the author of an important grammatical treatise now at Berlin. Several Scriptors occur, probably *Sopherim*. There still remain several true surnames; Barlibrod, Carini, Blund, Bressus, Crespin, Curj, Gaudi, Kiterel, Levi, Malmerri, Merdenhostel, Multrun, Quatrebuches, of which Barlibrod and Kiterel, and perhaps some of the others, are English.

One peculiarity remains to be observed. A considerable number of the names of men are quoted as the sons of their mothers (see Nos. 29, 41, 75*a*, 85, 155, 206, 264, 273, 343, 344, 349, 355, 360, 408, 426, 467, 532, 586, 605, *cf.* 626, 629, 642, 647, 664, 726, 739). This might seem at first to cast some aspersion on their mothers, but in two cases at least, Abraham fil Avigay and Copin fil Belia, we can trace the fathers, and the latter suggests that it was merely because the mothers were better known than the fathers that the curious nomenclature was adopted. It is also just possible that the fathers had become converts and the sons refused to be called by their names.

X.—JEWISH BISHOPS AND COMMUNAL ORGANISATION.

There are ten persons in the list who have the curious title of Bishop, four in London (Deodatus, 1168-78, Abraham, Deulesalt, Vives, 1194), three in Lincoln (Josce, Samson, and Judas), one at Exeter (Deulecresse), one at Nottingham (Samuel), one at Bristol (Isaac), and one at Winchester (Solomon), and to these we may add a Samuel le Prester at Norwich, and Jacob, Presbyter of London and of all England. What exactly were these Bishops and Priests of the Jews? The clue, I think, is given by the fact that there are three of them in the two most important centres of the English Jewry, London and Lincoln.* We know from John's Confirmation of the Jewish Charters (*supra* Assize, § 32), that the English Jews had right to jurisdiction among themselves, a right which was granted them, I conjecture, by Henry II. (Robertson, *Mat. Thom. Becket*, iv. 148). On one occasion it is mentioned that a question whether a Jew might take usury from a Jew was to be decided by a chapter of the Jews (*capitulum Judæorum*). Such jurisdiction would be administered by the three *Dayanim* or judges, who, even to this day, are the ecclesiastical assessors in all Jewish courts. It is only natural to connect the three episcopi with the three *Dayanim* and interpret Episcopus as ecclesiastical supervisor. These were the "peers of the Jews," before whom trials were held (*supra* Assize, § 22). I can guess whence the title came. There was clearly intimate relation between the English Jews of the early twelfth century and the Jews of the Rhine Provinces. There we find the title "Episcopus Judæorum," especially at Cologne (Höniger, *Judenschreins-Buch* (1888), Nos. 83, 232, 234, and *pass.*). There, however, it was used

* There were only three at London 1220, 1227, and at Lincoln in 1240. See my "London Jewry" in *Papers Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 48.

mostly to express the *Parnass*, or president of the congregation, and only one Episcopus occurs at the time. Now in England we find three simultaneous Episcopi, who could not all be wardens, while both at Bristol and Lincoln we find Jews with the title *Pernaz*, or warden, who were not "Episcopi." The constitution of the congregation seems to have been a warden (*Pernaz*); a treasurer (*Gabbai*)—these for synagogue and financial matters; three *Dayanim*, for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, forming a chapter of the Jews (*capitulum Judæorum*); a rector of the High School, with teachers under him (*magister puerorum*); and scribes (*Scriptores*) or cyrographers, for writing deeds; while the "Ordinances of the Jewry" mention two "lawyers that are Jews," to supervise contracts between Jews and Christians. The presbyter, or prester, would thus be the *Ab-beth-din*, or head of the assembly.

That the title, "Bishop," was familiar among the ordinary Englishmen of the time, is shown as early as 1168, when a bishop of the Jews entered St. Paul's, while some bishops of the Christians were deciding ecclesiastical cases. "Receive also this bishop among you," called out a wit among the crowd; "he alone of all the bishops has not betrayed the archbishop," *i.e.*, Thomas Becket (Robertson, *Materials*, *supra* p. 45).

To sum up. The title "Bishop" comes from Germany, where it meant "warden," and was applied in England, about 1184, to represent the three *Dayanim*, who had the right by English law to adjudicate on cases between Jews.

XI.—THE ENGLISH JEWRIES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

From the above name-lists we can gather some important conclusions as to the dispersion of the Jews through England. The name of the towns where they dwelt is almost invariably

given, and we can thus draw up the accompanying list of the towns of England where Jews are known to have dwelt in the twelfth century, adding in italics the names of foreign towns and countries from which in several instances they are mentioned as having come. In cases where the exact quarter where the Jews dwelt is known from local histories I have added notes and references, though these in many instances refer rather to the thirteenth century. There does not seem to have been much change in the position of the Jewries. The numbers refer to the Name List: those in brackets are doublets.

Aufai, 195 (at Warwick).

Arundel, 563*a*.

Bedford, 8, 109, 129, 156, 216, 246, 251, 271, 293, 488, 564, 580, —[676], 712.

Berdefeld, 172, 286—[658].

Beverley, 247 (at Winchester), 566 (at Winchester).

Boseham, 76, 450.

Bristol, 20 (at Nottingham), 46, 47, 77, 120, 182, 259, 266, 267, 281, 311, 337, 360, 386, 412, 493, 540, 575—[687], 745.

[On the Quay between Broad Street and Small Street, between the outer and inner wall: the synagogue under St. Giles' Church in Small Street.—Hunt, *Bristol*, 27-30; Seyer, i., *Bristol*, 527-9; Pryce, *Bristol*, 72-3].

Bucks., 72, 246, 328, 364, 466, 584, — 706, 713. [Perhaps Dunstaple.]

Bungay, 20 (at Norwich), 197 (at Linc.), 248 (at Hereford), 280 (at Linc.), 300 (at Northampton), 338, 448 (at Norwich), 505, 581. *Cf.* P. R., item 9.

Burges (Bourges), 233 (at Linc.).

Cambridge, 15, 31, 36, 53, 73, 94 (fr. Rummel), 116, 117, 137, 143, 149, 155, 269, 283, 289, 312, 319, 362, 369, 379, 407, 419,

449, 486, 517, 529, 530, 552, 590, 595 (fr. Hamton), 599, 604—[639], [647], [650], [651], 665, [667], [688], [702], [708].

[*See supra* pp. 4, 222, 229. The old synagogue near the prison was given to the Franciscans. *Mon. Franc.* ed. Brewer 17, 18. The parishes of All Saints and St. Sepulchre's "in the Jewry." Baker, *Hist. St. John's College*, 26, 27. Fuller, *Univ. Cambr.* 8, 21, 77. *See* also Cooper *Annals*, i. *s.a.* 1215, 1224, 1266.]

Canterbury, 14, 49, 87, 90 (?), 170, 249, 294, 368, 436, 437 (?), 531, 560. *See* Kent.

[*Cf. supra*, p. 153. Jury Lane, opposite All Saints in Speed's Map. The synagogue, where Saracen's Head Inn, according to Somner, *Antiq. Canterbury*, 124-5; *Cf.* Brent, *Canterbury*, 116, 137; Hasted, *Canterbury*, i. 61, 126, ii. 364].

Chichester, 63, 88, 166, 198, 210, 212, 399, 414, 451, 469, 554, 567, 608—[630], 678, *See* Sussex.

Clamund, 22 (at Northampton).

Colchester, 2, 23, 24 (at Hereford), 37, 59, 137, 180, 188, 219, 250, 309, 310, 317, 601, 602—[669] [679], 709. *See* Essex.

[Jewry in East Stockwell Street. *Cf.* Cutts, *Colchester*, c. xiii.; Morant, *Colchester*, p. 8.]

Cologne, 591 (from England). *Cf. supra*, p. 131.

Cornwall. *Cf. supra*, p. 186.

Coventry, 16, 199.

Danemarchia (? *Denmark*), 173.

Devises, 409 (*Cf.* Waylen, *Devizes*, p. 45).

Devon, 61, 207, 245, 503—[727]. *See* Exeter.

Doncaster, 152 (at York), 506.

Dunstaple, 12, 328—706 (*Cf.* Morin, *Dunstaple*), *see* Bucks.

Edene (? co. Durham), 568 (at Linc.).

Edmondsbury, 150, 258, 403, 553, 546, 562.

[*Cf. supra*, pp. 59-61, 75, 78, 141, and Turner, *Domestic Archit.* i. 46.)

Essex, 8, 9, 58, 174, 180, 270, 384—631 [654], 689, 732, 749. *Cf.* p. 222. *See* Colchester.

Estampes, 551 (Lond.).

Exeter, 61, 179, 183, 318, 388, 490, 518, 550—[733]. *See* Devon.

Eye [co. Suffolk], 480, 507 (at Norwich).

Faversham [co. Kent], 89.

Finchlefeld, 174.

Gloucester, 39, 50, 65, 68, 72, 92 (fr. Rising), 104, 125, 126, 136, 194, 209, 232, 325, 333, 358, 382, 393, 394, 400, 420, 427, 452, 459, 472, 474, 535, 588, 589, 598, 606—625, 627 [629], [632], 640, 655, 670, 680, 690, 696 [699], [703], [714], 720 (fr. Lond.).

[East Gate Street, formerly Jewry Street, synagogue on N. side. Bigland, *Hist. of Gloucester*, 135; *Records Glouc. Cathedral*, ii. 125. *Cf. supra*, p. 45-6.]

Grimsby, 329.

Hamton, 595 (at Cambridge).

Hereford, 24 (from Colchester), 48, 211, 240, 248 (fr. Bungay), 301, 434, 482, 502, 523—661.

[Jewry Lane in Speed's Map, between Wydmarsh Gate and Bisters Gate. *Cf. Bp. Swinfeld's Household Expenses* (Cam. Soc.), xcix.-ci., 127. R. Johnson, *Customs of Hereford*, 70-1.]

Hertford, 78, 130, 215, 442.

Hich (?), 251 [probably Hitchin].

Ipswich, 414*a*, 569, 582.

Joigny, 168 (in Lond.), 252 (Lond.), 611 (York).

Kent, 25, 86, 87, 110, 128, 159, 167, 153 (?), 184, 214, 223, 284, 310 (?), 341, 356, 390, 508, 532, 561, 577—[619], 685. *Cf.* p. 222. *See* Canterbury, Faversham, Rochester.

Leicester, 79, 340, 380.

[Jewry Wall, *Journ. Arch. Ass.*, vi. 393-402; *Leic. Arch. Trans.*, i., iv. 48; Throsby, *Leister*, 2, 3, 7, 18, 40, 232, 392. Pl. I., II.]

Lincoln, 3, 7, 11, 30, 55, 74, 84, 85, 89*a*, 90, 96, 100, 101, 102, 107, 112, 114, 118, 123, 135 (fr. Stamford), 141, 151, 157, 163, 195, 197 (fr. Bungay), 200, 201, 204, 208, 217, 220, 233, 262, 264, 265, 275 (fr. Bungay), 302, 306, 313, 322, 323, 326, 329, 331, 341, 345, 355, 365, 374, 387, 415, 421, 422, 422*a*, 423, 428, 429, 430, 435, 461, 478, 481, 486, 495, 499, 511. 520, 524 (fr. Stamford), 548, 556, 568 (fr. Edene), 570 (fr. Paris), 578, 586, 597, 600, 607, 613—[615], [620], [633], [662], 664, [671], [681], [686], [691], [700], 704, [710], [724], [734], [748].

[*Cf. supra* pp. 57, 117, 207, M. D. Davis, "Mediæval Jews of Lincoln," *Arch. Journ.*, xxxviii., 178 *seq.*; Freeman, *Eng. Towns*, 216. Jews' houses on Steep Hill. *Cf.* map in Miss Norgate's *Angevin England*, i. 40; figured in Pugin's *Specimens*, Pl. ii., and Turner's *Dom. Archti.*, i., p. 7 and Gardiner, *School Hist. of England*, *cf. supra* p. 91].

London, 1, 4, 17, 29, 33, 41, 42, 43, 45*a*, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 67, 69, 75, 80, 95 (fr. Talemund), 105, 106, 113, 121, 134, 138, 142, 144, 147, 148, 158, 161, 162, 165, 168 (fr. Joigny), 185, 187, 189, 192, 205, 206, 222, 228, 229, 236, 237, 252 (fr. Joigny), 274, 282, 285, 288, 292, 296, 303 (fr. Paris), 304, 321, 339, 342, 349, 353, 354, 357, 359, 361, 363, 377, 392, 397, 398, 401, 402, 408, 409, 413, 424, 445, 447, 449, 454, 467, 468, 470, 473, 476, 484, 487, 492, 500, 501, 504, 512, 513, 515, 527, 539, 549, 551, 563, 576, 592, 596, 605, 610,—[616], 621, [628], 634, [645], 652, [660], 663, [672], 682, [694], 707, [711], 721, [725], 726, [739], 746.

[*See supra* pp. 13, 29, 45, 62, 99-106, 177, 217, 234. Jewry at first in Old Jewry, Synagogue at Bakewell Hall, Great

School in Ironmonger St. *Cf.* Stow, *Survey*, edit. Strype, ii. 33, 59, iii. 53-5, 262-3 (the source of all other accounts, as Maitland, *London*, 438; Seymour, *London*, 556; Knight's *Old London*, vi., &c); Loftie, *History of London*; 112, 114, 122, 145, 185, 196; *Cf.* map in App. F; J. Jacobs, "The London Jewry, 1290," in *Papers Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, pp. 20-52, with plan.]

Lynn, 91 (at Norw), 175. [*Cf.* W. Richards, *Lynn*, i. 390.]

Malinges (? Mechlin), 25, 561 (in Kent).

Newcastle, 297. [Silver St. was formerly Jewgate. Brand, *Newcastle*, i. 359.]

Newland, 508 (Kent).

Newport [co. Bucks. ?].

Norfolk, 131, 175, 176, 181, 324, 505, 529, 583—646 (*Cf.* p. 222). *See* Bungay, Lynn, Norwich, Rising.

[*Cf.* W. Rye, *Short Hist. of Norfolk*, 16, 42, 46-8, 51-2.].

Norwich, 19, 21 (fr. Bristol), 26, 81, 91 (fr. Lynn), 99, 108, 191, 218, 230, 260, 268, 279, 280, 299, 320, 335, 336, 338, 346, 350, 367, 391, 403, 425. 439, 448 (fr. Bungay), 455, 475, 507 (fr. Rye), 509, 516, 534, 541—[623], 638, 648, 653, 695, [701], 718, 722, 742, 744. *See* Norfolk.

[*See supra* pp. 19-21, 112, 261. Jewry near Haymarket, Synagogue and School on Hogg Hill. *Cf.* Blomfield, *Norfolk*, iii 26-8, iv. 76, 184, 225; Goulbourn and Symons, *Sculptures Norw. Cathedral*, c. ix.]

Northampton, 5, 10, 13, 22 (fr. Clamund), 24, 45, 66, 97, 132, 145, 146, 253 (fr. Nottingham), 254, 276, 278 (fr. Stamford), 287, 300, 308, 314, 316, 352, 353, 366, 371, 381, 431, 464, 471, 489, 494, 496, 497, 519, 537, 547, 558, 572 (fr. Warwick), 603, —[617], [622], [656], [683], [715], [723], [735], [738], 741. [*See supra* p. 162; *Cf.* Baker, *Northampton*, 152, 262, 351.]

Nottingham, 20 (fr. Bristol), 193, 202, 253 (at Northampton), 477, 526,—666.

[*Cf. Records, Bor. Nott.*—Jew-lane, Nicholas St. Synagogue in street leading from St. Peter's to Friars Min.]

Orleans, 501 (*at Lond.*)

Oxford, 6, 35, 70, 98, 111, 115, 119, 124, 140, 177, 178 (fr. Walligford), 190 (fr. Winchester), 235, 255 (at Winton), 305 (fr. Winch.) 315, 348, 458) 522, 587—641, 657, [673], [684], [719], [736].

[*See supra* pp. 4, 18, 68, 96, 254. Anthony à Wood, ed. Gutch, i. 129. 148, 165, 220, 239, 273, 274, 325, 326, 328, 329; ii. 745, 746. *Uity of Oxford*, ed. Clark, ii. 18. Lyte, *Univ. Oxford*, 36, 41, 44, 59, 66, 67. Boase, *Oxford*, 22, 32, 65, 68, 81. Great and Little Jewry near Carfax along Fish (St. Aldate's) St., with St. Edward's in centre. Cemetery near Magdalen Tower. *Cf.* Neubauer, "Notes on Jews in Oxford." *Collectanea*, II. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), pp. 277-316.]

Paris, 38, 303 (at Lond.), 457, 570, 596—697.

Punteise, 402.

Reading (?), 231.

Rising, 92 (at Glouc.), 169, 176—[635].

Rochester, 93, 256.

Rochelle, 95.

Rouen see p. 217.

Rume (? Rome), 510 (at Warwick).

Rummel, 94 (at Cambr.).

Russia, 257 (at Winchester).

Rutland, 277. *See* Stamford.

Saumur, 341.

Spain, 454 (at London).

Stamford, 135 (at Linc.), 186, 278 (at Northampton), 416, 524 (at Linc.). *See* Rutland. [*See supra* pp. 212, 215.]

Somerset, 38, 315. *See* Wells.
Sussex, 60, 88, 169, 426.
Talemund, 95 (at London).
Tchernigof, 257 (at Winchester).
Thetford, p.
Trier, 557.
Wallingford, 178 (at Oxford), 458, 525. [Hedge, *Wallingford*, i. 387.]
Warwick, 195 (fr. Aufai), 203, 213, 227, 347, 359, 383, 404, 465, 510 (fr. Rume), 533, 538, 571, 572 (at Northampton)—636, 674, 692, [705], [729].
[Speed's map gives Jewry Street a continuation of Castle St.]
Wells, 404. *See* Somerset.
Westminster, 304. [*Cf.* P. R. Item, No. 2.]
Wilton, 301. *See* Wilts.
Wilts, 27. *See* Wilton.
Winchester, 18, 32, 34, 40, 64, 82, 122, 154, 160, 171, 190 (at Oxon), 221, 224, 241, 244, 247 (fr. Burnley), 255 (fr. Oxon), 256 (fr. Rochester), 257 (fr. Russia), 263, 265, 305 (at Oxon), 332, 385, 405, 410, 417, 432 (?), 460, 491, 560, 573, 574, 593 (?)—618, [642], [649], [659], [675], 737.
[*See supra* pp. 133, 146-52. Speed's map gives Jewry St. leading to Northgate (*Cf.* also map in Norgate, *Angevin England*, i. 31). The Synagogue was in Trussil, now Gaol, St. *cf.* Milner, *Hist. of Winchester*, ii. 180.]
Windsor, 41.
Worcester, 133, 261, 307, 387, 395, 406, 411, 528, 536, 559—624, 716.
York, 83, 152 (fr. Doncaster), 225, 243, 238, 272, 433, 506, 545, 609, 611—[637], 717, 730.
[*See supra* 101, 105, 112, 116, 117—30, 238. Speed's map gives Jewbury between St. Morris and the R. Fosse. The Synagogue was on the N. side of Jubbergate. *Cf.* Hargrave,

York, ii. 386-8, 558. Drake, *Eboracum*, 57, 94-6, 228, 253-4, 265, 277, 322. App., pp. xiv.-v. Twyford and Griffiths, *Records York Castle*, 25-35. R. Davies "On the Mediæval Jews of York" in *Yorksh. Arch. and Top. Journ.*, iii. 147-97. J. T. Fowler "On Certain 'Starrs,'" *ibid*, pp. 55-63.]

XII.—JEWISH POPULATION.

It would be, of course, of interest to ascertain the number of Jews in England during the twelfth century, but the materials at our disposal are scarcely adequate for the purpose. I have compiled a list of all the names mentioned in the records, and this runs to some 750. But these are of various generations, and were not all living simultaneously, nor do they give more than the heads of families. If we divide them into four generations—(1) 1100-1153 A.D., (2) 1154-1173, (3) 1174-1193, (4) 1194-1206, a rough calculation gives 15, 45, 300, 390, as the approximative number of names *known* in each generation, and indicates rather our relative knowledge of the various periods than the actual population. For the fourth period we are lucky in possessing a name-list of the Jews subscribing to the ransom of Richard I. at Northampton in 1194. This gives nearly 270 names of heads of families throughout the country. As, however, the sum voted was 5,000 marks (£3,666), and the sums mentioned in the roll reach only about £1,800, it is probable that it contains only the better half of the whole collection. As a matter of fact, for many of the towns I could supplement the list considerably. Altogether, I reckon that some 500 Jewish families were at that date, 1194, in England, probably amounting to some 2,000 souls. In the preceding generation their numbers were probably equally great, but the natural increase was cut short by the massacres of 1190, which probably removed nearly 500 victims. The Jewish accounts give 150 as the number killed

in York; Ralph Disset mentions 57 slain at Bury St. Edmund's, and the *émeutes* at London, Lynn, Norfolk, and Stamford must have largely increased the total.

I do not think the total number can have much exceeded 2,000, at this time, as the total population of England seems not to have been greater than a million and a half, and it does not seem likely that this small population could have maintained much more than one per cent. of bankers or "usurers," especially as most of the business of the country was performed by barter. As it was, the resources of the country must have been severely taxed to support such a large number of unproductive persons, though incidentally the banking facilities they offered may have encouraged trade in the building of castles, convents, &c.

We may from the list enumerate, at any rate, the English towns where Jews are known to have existed in the twelfth century, in the following order of population, the numbers prefixed being those of the names occurring in the Name List for each town:—

110, London.
82, Lincoln.
42, Norwich.
40, Gloucester.
39, Northampton.
36, Winchester.
32, Cambridge.
22, Oxford.
18, Bristol.
14, Colchester.
14, Chichester.
13, Bedford, York.
12, Canterbury, Worcester.
11, Hertford.
9, Bungay, Exeter.
7, Nottingham.
6, Edmondsbury.
5, Stamford.
4, Hertford.
3, Dunstable, Ipswich, Leicester, Rising, Wallingford.

2, Beverley, Birdfield, Bonham, Doncaster, Eye, Lynn, Newport, Rochester.	lefield, Grimsby, Hamton, Newland, Newcastle, Reading, Thetford, Wells, Westminster, Wilton, Windsor.
1, Arundel, Devizes, Faversham, Finch-	

The comparative density of the Jewish population follows the density of the general population, being thickest in the South and East, sparsest in North and West.

XIII.—THE JEWS' HOUSES.

It is rare, even in conservative England, for a private dwelling-house to exist, in however battered a condition, after so long a period as seven centuries. This is specially the case with private houses, as the large majority of them were constructed of wood, as London knew to its cost in the great fire of 1136. But the twelfth century was the beginning of better days in domestic architecture, and stone houses for private dwellings practically date from this period. Among the earliest to use the new luxury—for luxury it was—were the Jews It is by no means accidental that three out of the scanty remains of the domestic architecture of the twelfth century are known as "Jews' houses." There are two at Lincoln and one at Bury St. Edmund's. There is yet another in Norwich called the Musick House, which, according to Bloomfield (*Norfolk*, iv. 76), can trace to the twelfth or even eleventh century. But it has nowadays not a single trace of its earlier condition.

Of the two at Lincoln, that in the High street is the better known, and has frequently been described, among others, by Turner, in the first volume of his *Domestic Architecture*, pp. 7, 41, from whom I derive the following details:—The principal

dwelling-room was on the first floor, probably for protection. The fireplace is on the side towards the street, the chimney being corbelled out over the door, the lower part of it with the corbels, forming a sort of canopy over the doorway. This is richly decorated, the ornamentation being similar to that of Bishop Alexander's work in Lincoln Cathedral. Some of the windows are good Norman ones, of two lights, with a shaft between. The staircase seems to have been internal, and the house is small, of two rooms only. All authorities on architecture date it as of the twelfth century, though historically it is connected with the name of a Lincoln Jewess, named Belaset of Wallingford, who was hanged for clipping the coinage a few years before the Expulsion. It is, however, similar in style and appearance to what the other Jew's house of Lincoln must have been.

This is of far more historic interest, and has the advantage that it can be definitely dated. It is on the Steep Hill, at Lincoln, on the right-hand side going up, and tradition has always associated it with the name of Aaron of Lincoln, the great Jewish financier of the twelfth century, who died in 1187. Unfortunately it has suffered much at the hands of successive tenants; the roof, some of the windows, the doors, and most of the walls have been restored; all the rest is the original house. This consists chiefly of a window, similar in every way to those of Belaset's house, and an external chimney projecting over the doorway in much the same way. Turner remarks that a Norman ornamented string, on a level with the floor, may be traced along two sides of the house. I have had it photographed and engraved for the present book (see p. 91. It is undoubtedly the earliest historic building of Jewish interest in England.

Moyse Hall, at Bury St. Edmund's, is also called the Jews' Synagogue in local tradition. It is of late Norman, partly of

Transition character, the lower story being vaulted, while the arch-ribs are pointed. This also appears to have had no windows on the ground floor. On the upper floor there are two good transition Norman windows, each of two lights, square-headed and plain, under a round arch, with mouldings and shafts in the jambs, having capitals of almost Early English character. Internally the masonry is not carried up all the way to the sill of the window, so that a bench of stone is formed on each side of it. It is an early instance of the square-headed window, divided by a mullion under a semicircular arch. Some antiquaries believe that the building once possessed a tower. It was used last century as a bridewell, and is still in use as a police station. It is possible, I think, that it was used as a school, having just the arrangement, in two storeys, contemplated by the code of the period. If so, it is the earliest school building in existence in the country, as the Jews were expelled from Bury St. Edmund's in 1190. (See p. 141.)

The historians of the period refer to the luxurious character of the Jews' houses of the time, those of Joce and Benedict, the chief Jews of York, being likened to residences of princes. Their solid character may have been intended for safety as much as for luxury, and they resisted the attacks of the rioters in the *émeutes* of 1189-90, till fire was set to their thatched roofs.

XIV.—THE YORK RIOT.

The outbreak of fanatic fury against the Jews of England during the winter and spring of 1189-90, was the most striking incident in the mediæval history of the English Jews. And of the whole series of incidents the most striking episode was the sublime self-sacrifice of the York Jews, which was the final act of the tragedy. There was a dignified sense of personal honour shown in the attitude of the besieged that recalls the heroes of

antiquity. Observers at the time recognised the analogy with the last days of Jerusalem, and the comparison does not strike one as incongruous, looking back upon the scene across the centuries. Men who could dare so greatly for an ideal cause, men who could die rather than forswear their faith, must have been something other than mere greedy usurers.

We have very full accounts of the tragedy, the fullest being written by William of Newbury, who was himself a Yorkshireman, who lived and died at Bridlington within eight years of the tragedy. He is, strictly speaking, a contemporary witness, and was fully conscious of the importance and significance of the story he was telling. Yet notwithstanding the detail with which he writes, there are not a few points which remain doubtful, while the whole inner history of the tragedy has to be sought for in the significance of the names of the murderers given in the records.

The actual scene of the final act of self-sacrifice can scarcely be doubted, though it is by no means distinctly described by the historian, who speaks as if it were the whole of York Castle that was held by the Jews. Yet it is unlikely that the sheriff should have handed over to the Jews the custody of the whole castle, which would involve withdrawing the garrison. It is much more probable that he set aside the isolated outwork known as Clifford's Tower for their reception. This was a building erected on a high mound, and strongly fortified; tradition has it that it was built by the Conqueror (Drake, *Ebor.*, p. 289). It was originally of two stories, but the interior was blown up in 1687, and is now in ruins. This, by its isolation and impregnable position, was the most suitable place of safety for the Jews. But if so, their numbers could scarcely have been so great as 500, which William of Newbury fixes upon, since so large a number could not have been easily received within

Clifford's Tower. I am confirmed in this correction of William of Newbury's figures by the more moderate estimate of Ephraim of Bonn, who in the Hebrew martyrology which he wrote fixes the number at 150. It is probable enough that he had before him an actual list of the martyrs, and it is not impossible that the York *Memorbuch*, as such lists are called in Germany, may be found At present we know only four names: Joce the head of the York Jews, Anna his wife, R. Yomtob of Joigny, who, as Ephraim of Bonn informs us, was martyred at York (Aborak he calls it), and R. Elias, who is mentioned in the Tosaphoth (Joma 27*a*, Sebach 14*b*) as the martyr of Aborak, *i.e.*, Everwic or Eboracum, the original name of York. There can be little doubt that R. Yomtob of Joigny was "the elder from beyond the sea," who had so much authority with the York Jews, and counselled them to slay themselves rather than disown their faith. The speech given by William of Newbury is probably fictitious, after the manner of Livy; he owns indebtedness to Josephus for the idea. But some such stirring address would be consonant with Yomtob's skill as a Hebrew writer. This is proved by the fact that even to this day, the most striking hymn of the Day of Atonement service—that ending each verse with the refrain, "I have forgiven"—was written by Yomtob of York. He is frequently mentioned in the Tosaphoth (see Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, 52), and was clearly one of the most distinguished Jews of North Europe in the twelfth century—a fitting person to form the central figure in the most striking episode of Jewish history in that century.

Of the rioters and their leaders we know far more, thanks to the fulness of the public records of the period. I have discovered in the Pipe Rolls (No. 102, 2 Ric. 1., Everwich) the names of fifty-one prominent citizens of York who were fined altogether 342 marks (£228) for complicity in the riots. But another item

(124) gives us more important information as to the leaders of the whole movement, whose lands were seized by William Longchamp when he visited York in the Easter of 1190 with a large force (costing £60, Pipe Roll, 1 Ric. I., Everwich) to punish the rioters, and bring back to London the few Jews who remained alive after the catastrophe (their transport cost only 8s., P. R., item 96). Their names were Richard Malebisse, Kt., and his squires, Walter de Carton and Richard de Cuckney, Sir William de Percy and Picot de Percy, Roger de Ripun and Alan Malekake. To these names the Meaux Chronicle (ed. Bond. i., 155) adds those of Philip de Fauconbridge and Marmaduke Darell. To readers of the nineteenth century these names would be names and nothing more. But to Bishop Stubbs, who has lived as much in the twelfth as in the nineteenth century, the names implied much more, and have suggested the clue to the whole riot. For he found several of the names associated together in Dugdale and other Cartularies, and observed that some of them were connected with the Percy and Pudsey families, who were then the ruling spirits of the North Countrie (see his note on Roger Howden, Vol. III., p. xlv.). Following up the hint thus given, I have further extended the evidence of the close connection of these various names in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (D.) and the Whitby (W.), and Finchdale Cartularies (F.) published by the Surtees Society. Thus Alan Malekake occurs as a co-signatory with Malebysse (W. No. cxii., p. 95), and with Picot de Percy (F. x., p. 10), who elsewhere signs with Malebysse (F. xvi.). Richard de Kakénai (mis-spelt Kadenai) signs with both Picot and Alan (F. xxii), while we know he was squire to Richard Malebysse, with whom, and with Picot de Percy, he signs F. No. lxii. Then the Fauconbridges had inter-married with the De Cuckneys (D. vi. 873), while Agnes Percy gives a manor "nepoti

meo Ric. Malebysse" (D. v., 513).' And almost all these deeds are connected with the wide-reaching transactions of the Pudsey family, who followed the lead of Hugh Pudsey, the masterful old Prince Bishop of Durham (Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii., 283, *seq.*).

There was another bond between these men which had a more direct bearing on the York tragedy. The Percy family were in debt to the Jews; Richard Percy yielded two bovates of land to Whitby Abbey for assistance afforded him in releasing him and his lands "de Judaismo" (W. No. cccxxxiv., p. 387), and he was directly connected with Malebysse (D. iv., 75, W. 293 n.). The Darells again were equally embarrassed, as we learn from the Meaux Chronicle (i., 315). About the leader of the whole attack, Richard Malebysse, the man specially mentioned by William of Newbury as the leader, we have much more explicit information as to his indebtedness to the Jews. As early as 1182 we find a receipt of Solomon of Paris, acting on behalf of Aaron of Lincoln, of £4 "out of the great debt which he owes to my master Aaron" (Brit. Mus. Add. Chart., 1251), though he had only come into his property six years before (Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II., Honour of Eye). By a kind of premonition, Solomon of Paris, in the Hebrew receipt with which he endorses the Latin document (Davis, *Shetaroth.* 288) punningly translates his name, Evil Beast, anticipating William of Newbury, who refers to him as "Ricardus vero cognomine Mala Bestia."

William of Newbury distinctly states that the riots were instigated by a number of the nobles who were heavily indebted to the Jews, or were pressed by the Royal Treasury which had taken up the debts to deceased Jews. The final act of the tragedy was the rush to the Minster, where the deeds of the Jews had been sent, probably for safety; these were sacrilegiously burned within the precincts of the Minster itself. We

may conjecture that the real object of the seige of Clifford's Tower was to get possession of these deeds. Only after the tragedy did the besiegers learn, probably from one of the few surviving Jews, that their trouble had been useless, and that the deeds were at the Minster. Thither they rushed and effected the main object of the riot by destroying the evidence of their indebtedness to the hated Jews. Even this was in vain, for duplicates existed elsewhere, and we find several instances of indebtedness to Joce and other of the slain Jews of York long after the massacre (P. R., items No. 109, 121). The debts fell into the King's hands as universal legatee of the martyrs.

Though it was undoubtedly a deliberate plan of the leaders to get rid of their indebtedness to the Jews, the York riot would not have been possible but for the religious prejudices of the mob, upon which they played. These had been raised to fever heat by the enthusiasm for the Third Crusade, on which Richard Cœur-de-Lion was just starting. It was possible that even the leaders of the riot were combining business and religion in their attack on the Jews. They were all connected with various abbeys, and their names occur in the Abbey Cartularies, as we have seen. The Fauconbridges were the great patrons of the Abbey of Welbeck, and Malebysse himself was afterwards the founder of Newbo, co. Lincoln. This religious side of the attack was led by a white-robed monk of the Premonstrateusian order, who was the most conspicuous figure in the attack throughout the two or three days it lasted. Now Welbeck was one of the few Premonstrateusian abbeys in England, and it is not stretching the point too far to suggest that this monk was a relation of the Fauconbridges, or perhaps of the De Cuckneys, Cuckney being a village near Welbeck. It was the death of this monk that exasperated the leaders so much and gave an incentive to the final cruel and treacherous scenes.

The punishment inflicted upon the rioters was no means adequate to their offence. Richard was doubly incensed, at the loss to the Royal Treasury, and the offence to the royal dignity. And his Chancellor, William Longchamp, undertook the task of punishment with the more zeal, as the leaders were, as we have seen, all of the party of Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, and Longchamp's chief rival (Norgate, *l.c.* ii., 286). But Longchamp's rule was short, and Prince John reinstated Pudsey, and we find immediately afterwards Richard Malebysse restored to his forest rights, and even by paying a fine was granted possession of his land taken from him by the king (P. R., item 124).

Of Richard Malebysse's after fate we have abundant evidence; it was uniformly successful to the end, one regrets to observe. In 1200 he gets warren for his land at Acastre, Cemannsthorp, Scalton, and Alby (Rot. Lit. Cl., 51*b*). A year later, we find him making arrangements about other lands in Marton and Tolesby, Newenham, Baggely, Scalton, Halmby, Dale. He obtains "rectum frussiandi" in Usan and Coldric (*Oblates*, p. 55, cf. 379). These and other places mentioned in Pipe Rolls 3 and 10, Ric. I. (Galesbris, Kepwerk, Torenton, Stinton) are all in Yorkshire, and one of them to this day preserves, written as it were on English soil, a record of the arch villain of the York tragedy in the village of Acaster MALBIS, five miles south of York.

He was clearly a large landed proprietor, and it is not surprising to find him sent as ambassador to the King of Scots in 1200 (Close Roll, p. 99), and appointed Chief Justice of the York Assize, 4 Jo. (Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, "Beckwith of Clint"), and he showed his zeal for religion by founding the monastery of Newbo, co. Lincoln, in 1198. He had sons who succeeded him, but the family ultimately were incorporated, by a female descendant, with the Beckwiths of Clint.

Yet he did not go altogether unpunished for his dastardly attack on a set of defenceless and harmless strangers. It was for money that he planned the deed, and in his hopes of freeing himself from debt to the Jews he was disappointed. As late as 1205 we find him being freed from all usuries to the Jews while he was in the King's service (Close Roll, 58*b*), probably in Scotland, whither he was sent as ambassador as we have seen.

The York riot is the central fact in the pre-expulsion history of the Jews of England. Their position worsened from that date till their expulsion one hundred years later. Yet it was a scene in which the Jews came out in far brighter colours than their enemies, animated as they were by the highest motives, while the besiegers of Clifford's Tower were mainly, as we have seen, animated by a desire to evade their just debts.

XV.—ISAAC OF YORK.

In 1864 a great "find" of 6,000 of what are called "short-cross" pennies (silver) was made at Eccles. These are so called to distinguish them from the later long-cross pennies where the cross on the reverse of the coin reaches the rim, so as to enable clipping to be easily detected. This expedient was adopted in 1247, so that the short-cross pennies are prior to that date. Their peculiarity is, however, that they all bear the head and superscription of Henry II., none being known with those of Richard or John. It is clear that Henry's name and counterfeit presentment was used on the coins of his two sons. The distinguishing mark of the coinage consists in the name of the moneyer, which is invariably placed on the reverse; there are no less than 240 different names included in the Eccles find from about twenty local mints. (See the list in the late W. S. W. Vaux's Paper on the Eccles find, *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, V., pp. 219-254.)

From the large number and variety of the coins found at Eccles, Dr. (now Sir) John Evans was enabled to make a number of inductions, which gave an almost complete answer to what has been known among English numismatists as "The Short Cross Question". (*Numism. Chron., l.c.*, pp. 219-254). From certain minute variations in the effigy of Henry II. on the coins, arrangement of hair, etc., he was enabled to distinguish five different types, ranging from 1180 to 1247, while from the few names of moneyers known from the Records, Pipe Rolls, etc., he was enabled to distinguish the chronological sequence of the types. Besides this, he determined the date of an earlier find of 6,000 pennies of Henry II. at Tealby described in *Archæologia*, xviii., 1-8 as being from the earliest dies of Henry's reign, and dating therefore from 1158-70. His investigations have since 1865, the date of this Paper, been regardeed as decisive and epochmaking.

Among the coins in the Eccles find were several with the moneyer's name ISAC ON EVERWIC, Isaac of (on) Everwic or York. Mr. Hubert Hall, in his *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, has regarded this moneyer as a Jew, and the question is of the greater interest owing to the coincidence of the name with that chosen by Sir Walter Scott for the principal Jew in his *Ivanhoe*. The point in favour of the identification, besides the probability of a connection between Jews and money, is the Biblical name, but these were by no means uncommon among Englishmen. At any rate, if this is to be considered at all decisive, it seems worth while considering it with the other Biblical or Jewish-looking names among the moneyers whose names are found on the short-cross pennies among Mr. Vaux's and Sir J. Evans's lists: they are as follows, placing them in alphabetical order, with the inscription and place of coinage, together with the types of coinage with which each name is

associated. I. refers to coins minted 1180-90; II., 1190-1205; III., IV, 1205-1216; V., 1216-47. It is obviously only the first two of these types which concern us here.

BENEIT	ON	LVNDE	London	II.
DAVI	,,	EVERWIC	York	II. III. IV.
DAVI	,,	LVND	London	II.
ISAC	,,	EVERWIC	York	I.
NICHOLE	,,	CANT	Canterbury	IV. V.
NICOLE	,,	LYN	Lynn	III.
NICOLE	,,	EVERWIC	York	III.
SAMVEL	,,	CANT	Canterbury	II. III. IV.
SALEMV	,,	CANT	,,	III.
SIMON	,,	CICE	Chichester	III. V.
SIMON	,,	CANT	Canterbury	I. III. IV. V.

Now if these were all Jews it would be strange if we could not identify some of them at least with the names mentioned in the Records. There is a Benedict of London mentioned in Richard of Anesty's account, c. 1160. There is a Josce fil David of London mentioned in the first list of London Jews, 1186. There is an Isaac fil Mosse of York mentioned in the Pipe Rolls, 3 Ric. I., and an Isaac Blund of York mentioned in Fine Rolls of 1205. There is a Samuel fil Jacob of Canterbury mentioned in the Northampton Donum of 1194, as well as a Simon, nephew of Jacob of Canterbury. But none of these are mentioned as "monetarii," and it was a law of Henry I. "Quod nullus ausus sit cambire denarios nisi monetarius regis" (Ruding, *Annals of Coinage*, ii. 138). Not a single one of the names can, therefore, be identified with any probability with the name of a known Jew of the twelfth century, and the possibility of any single one of

them being a Jew is almost annihilated by this fact.* I think we may take it for granted that a Jew could not be a moneyer. The reason was, I imagine, that moneyers had to take the oath of fealty (Sir John Evans, *l.c.*, p. 290), and this included a Christian formula which a Jew could not take. The whole inquiry throws light on a mysterious passage of the Pipe Roll for 27 Hen. II., in which Isaac of Rochester and Isaac of Russia (Isaac of Tchernigoff mentioned by the author of the *Sepher Hashoham*), and Isaac of Beverley are fined because they are said to have exchanged or minted (*cambivisse*). The former could not well be an offence, but the latter was, according to the law of Henry I. quoted above from Ruding, and we may be tolerably certain that none of the three Isaacs or any other Jew would be allowed to mint, possibly for fear of false coinage. The whole investigation proves, I think, that we may nail the so-called Jewish coins of Isaac of York to the counter of numismatic inquiry.

I may add that Scott was unfortunate in naming his chief Jewish character Isaac of York, as at the time at which he places the action of his novel, viz.: in 1194, the date of Richard's return, there were no Jews at York, owing to the scare caused by the massacre of 1190. They are conspicuous by their absence from the list of names of the contributories to the Northampton Donum. Rebecca also was a name unknown among English Jewesses of the twelfth century, the nearest approach being Biket, a servant in London, 1186. Kirjath Jearim, the name of one of the minor Jews, is the name of a

* None of the 92 moneyers whose names are mentioned as occurring on the coins found at Tealby (*Archæologia*, l.c.) are at all Jewish. This, however, might be merely due to the less importance of the Jews in the earlier part of Henry II.'s reign (1158-70) and is so far a point in favour of the later names being those of Jews.

town not of a person and, as Mr. Israel Abrahams has shown, taken with some of the other names from Marlowe's "Jew of Malta."

XVI.—JEWISH AUTHORITIES.

The Jewish Authorities I have used throughout this book. translations of which take up nearly a quarter of its length, are very various in kind. Histories, commentaries, legal responses and deeds, grammatical and exegetical works, sacred poems and satyric doggrel, translations and ritual codes—I have pressed all into the service of history. In the following list I arrange them alphabetically and give succinct accounts of their character and value. The paginations, as in § I, refer to the pages of this book on which the various authorities are quoted. Jewish authors are placed in the order of their first names. Those who lived in England are dealt with especially in § XIX., to which the reader is referred under each name.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, Browning's "Rabbi ben Ezra," pp.29-38, 262-3. One of the most eminent and versatile of medieval Jews. For a characterisation see *supra* p. 29 and *cf.* Dr. Friedlander's *Essays on Abraham Ibn Ezra.* Prof. Bacher has written on him as grammarian (*A. i. E. als Grammatiker* 1881) and as exegete (*Einleitung zu Pentateuch Commentar*, 1876), Dr. Steinschneider on his mathematical productions, Dr. Rosin on his secular poetry (*Reime und Gedichte*, 4 hfte 1891), Dr. Egers has edited his *Diwan*, 1886, and Prof. Graetz has written on his travels and the chronological order of his works (*Geschichte der Juden* vi, note 8). Of the two books he wrote while in England in 1158, the extracts given above, pp. 29 seq. 35 seq. will sufficiently indicate the character. The *Yesod Moreh* (best edition that of Creizenach with translation, Leipzig 1840) was

his chief contribution to theology. The *Sabbath Epistle* (best edition in the Hebrew periodical *Kerem Chemed*, iv. p. 158 seq.) deals with the view (probably R. Solomon ben Meir's) that the day began with sunrise, which would lead in his opinion to the desecration of the Sabbath. It is probable that Browning had Ibn Ezra in view in his "Rabbi Ben Ezra," though he was probably unaware that his prototype visited England.

Abraham ben Nathan, whose *Sepher Hamanhig* ("Book of Customs") is quoted p. 224 for a reference to England, was born in Lunel, c. 1150, and after much wandering settled down in Toledo, where about 1204 he wrote his book (best edition by Goldberg, 1854), describing the differences of ritual observance among the Jews of the various lands he had visited. A full account of the book was given by Dr. D. Cassel in the *Jubelschrift* in honour of the great scholar Zunz, pp. 122-137.

Berachyah Nakdan, pp. 165-73, 196-9, 266-8. See § XIX.

Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn wrote a Jewish martyrology of the second and third Crusades, from which extracts are given, pp. 23, 107-8, 130-1. I have used the text printed at the end of Wiener's edition of the *Emek Habacha* of Joseph Cohen, q.v., but a better one has recently been published by Drs. Neubauer and Stern in *Hebraische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen wahrend der Krenzzuge*, Berlin, 1892.

Elchanan ben Isaac. See *Tosaphoth* and § XIX.

Emek Habacha, see Joseph Cohen.

Jacob ben Jehuda of London, author of a ritual and casuistical work entitled *Etz Chayim* ("Tree of Life"), the MS. of which is still extant at Leipzic. It was written about 1287, and has been fully described by Prof. Kaufmann in two articles of the *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, IV. pp. 20 seq., 550 seq., from the latter of which have been translated the extracts on p. 289.

Isaac ben Moses of Vienna, a Rabbi of the thirteenth century

who died at Würzberg, and compiled the halachic or legal compilation *Or Sarua*, from the MS. of which extracts are quoted on pp. 146, 241-2.

Jacob of Rameru, known as Rabbi Tam, died 1171, from whose school was derived *Sepher Hayashar*, from which extracts are given on pp. 25-6.

Jehuda ben Eliezer, a French Jew, *fl.* 1300, compiled from previous exegetes a commentary on the Pentateuch, termed *Minhat Jehuda*, from which extracts are given, pp. 81, 98.

Joseph Bechor Shor, pp. 23-5. See § XIX.

Joseph Cohen, a native of Avignon (1496-1575), who compiled from earlier chroniclers and annalists a martyrology of the Jews, entitled *Emek Habacha*, ("Valley of Tears") from which is extracted the extract on p. 4 The late M. Loeb wrote an elaborate work on him and his sources (*Joseph Haccohen et les chronicleurs juifs*, Paris, 1888). There is a good German translation by Wiener, 1858.

Joseph Kimchi, the father of scientific Hebrew grammar in the North of Europe, flourished at the end of the twelfth century. His grammar *Sepher Galuy* has recently been edited by Mr. H. J. Matthews from a MS. which likewise contains glosses by a certain R Benjamin, who was probably of Cambridge, and a specimen is accordingly given above p. 281.

Joseph ben Nathan the Official, a French Rabbi of the thirteenth century, a quotation from a MS. work of whom, given in Dr. Neubauer's catena of Rabbinic commentaries on Isaiah liii., refers to Joseph Bechor Shor and is given above p. 259. A full account of the MS. was given by M. Z. Kahn in *Revue des études juives*, t. iii from which another extract is given on p. 224-5.

Meir of Rothenburg, one of the most distinguished of German Rabbis towards the end of the thirteenth century, mentions in

one of his *Responses* a curious fact relating to the Jews of England in the preceding century, which is given on p. 54. On his status in Germany and long incarceration see a long note at the end of the preface of Wiener's *Regesten* and Graetz *Geschichte.* Bd. VII. Note 9.

Minhat Jehuda, see Jehuda ben Eliezer.

Mordecai ben Hillel, a Nuremburg Jew, ob. 1310, who collected a large number of decisions of previous authorities on Talmudical questions, among which occur the passages quoted pp. 53, 54, 111. There have been several editions since the ED. PR. of Alfasi's codification of Talmudic Law at Constantinople, 1509, on which the *Mordecai*, as it is called, is a running commentary. A monograph on him and his sources was written by Dr. Kohn and went through several numbers of Grætz' *Monatsschrift* 1876-9 and was published separately.

Moses (? ben Yomtob) of London, see § XIX.

Moses Taku or of Tachau, who died at Vienna c 1290, wrote a curious work against the evils of philosophical speculation, entitled *Ketab Tamim* (published in the Hebrew periodical *Ozar Nechmad*, iii. p. 54 seq.) in which occurs the passage on p. 264. On him see Graetz *s.c.* VII. 168-70.

Or Sarua. See Isaac ben Moses.

Sepher Hajashar, see Jacob of Rameru.

Shetaroth, or Hebrew Deeds of English Jews, were edited by Mr. M. D. Davis in 1888, for the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition. Unfortunately almost all of them are of the thirteenth century, only three referring to our period, those given on pp. 76, 77, 268.

Shibbole Halleket. See Zedekiah Anaw.

Solomon Luria, a sixteenth century Rabbi, of Lublin, in Poland, gives in a Response (reprinted in Graetz, *Geschichte*, vi., note 1) some information on English Rabbis, quoted on p. 54.

Tosaphoth are commentaries on the Talmud, additional to, but from the same school as, those of Rashi (R. Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, ob. 1104). Passages are quoted, pp. 52-3, 116, 178. A full account of the Tosaphists is given by Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 29-60. A separate collection of Tosaphoth, compiled by R. Elchanan ben Isaac, is extant in a MS. now at Ramsgate, from which a quotation is given on p. 269.

Zedekiah Anaw, a Jewish physician of Rome in the thirteenth century, compiled earlier decisions on ritual questions in his *Shibbole Halleket*, from a Cambridge MS., of which a passage is quoted on p. 286.

Many of these authorities, it will be observed, are of the thirteenth century, or even considerably later, and at first sight might not seem deserving of quotation as contemporary. But they are mostly compilations, and the passages quoted by them are generally accurate. These are mostly from works of the twelfth century not now extant, but clearly of contemporary authority. Reference may perhaps be made to a number of articles which have appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* where some of these authorities have been referred to or points of Angevin Jewish history discussed:—

I. 182-3. *J. Jacobs.* A Mediæval School of Massorites among the Jews of England.

286-8. *J. Jacobs.* When did the Jews first settle in England?

II. 322-30. *A. Neubauer.* English Massorites.

330-338. *J. Jacobs.* A Reply.

520-26. *A. Neubauer.* Berechiah Naqdan.

III. 555-66. *D. Kaufmann.* Three Centuries of the Genealogy of the most eminent Anglo-Jewish Family before 1290.

776-8. *J. Jacobs.* Three Centuries of the Hagin Family.

IV. 20-63. *D Kaufmann.* The Prayer Book according to the Ritual of England before the Expulsion.

" 550-61. *D. Kaufmann.* The Ritual of the Seder and the Agada of the English Jews before the Expulsion.

628-55. *J. Jacobs.* Notes on the Jews of England under the Angevin Kings.

V. 98. *J. Jacobs.* Further Notes on the Jews of Angevin England.

[First draft of Introduction and Appendix of present work.]

158. *M. D. Davis.* An Anglo-Jewish Divorce A.D. 1242.

351-2. *M. D. Davis.* Jews at Hurford.

References to earlier articles on the subject may be found in Jacobs and Wolf, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, 1888, the first part of which gives a complete bibliography up to that date of the history of the Jews of England before 1290. See especially Nos. 79, 80, 116, 146.

XVII.—ANGLO-JEWISH LITERATURE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The twelfth century was the flourishing period of mediæval Jewish literature. It was the era of the great Maimonides, the greatest name of all. It counted the two sweetest singers of Israel, Moses ibn Esra and Jehuda Halevi, the most attractive Jewish figure since Bible times. It saw the rise of modern Hebrew grammar with the Kimchis, whose work has not been without influence on the Authorised Version. A whole row of Jewish philosophers, mostly writing in Arabic, adorned the era. The Jewish Marco Polo, Benjamin of Tudela, was of that century and so was Abraham ibn Ezra, who combined in himself

all the qualities of the rest. It saw with the Ibn Tibbons the beginnings of the work of translation which was to restore Greek learning to Europe *viâ* Arabia. Alfasi, the great codifier, and Rashi, the great commentator, lived into the twelfth century, if only for three or four years.

All these names except tho last were from Spain or at least Southern Europe. The Jews of France and Germany were more concerned with the Law and its demands than with poetry, philosophy, and science. The one thing in which the French Jews in particular held the lead was in the explanation of the Talmud, in which they followed and added to the commentaries of R Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, known as Rashi (†1104). A band of disciples, many of them his grandchildren (R. Tam and Rashbam) or relatives, made additional commentaries on Bible and Talmud which were known as *Tosaphoth* or additions. Northern Europe was less cultured than Arabia, Spain, or Provence. and the Jews have always shared the culture of their neighbours. Brilliant as was the century for the Jews of the South it was by no means radiant among their more northerly brethren.

It has till lately been assumed that the English Jews shared in this comparative want of culture of their neighbours. Not a single name was known of importance among them in the century under review. Yet England itself was the home of a remarkable outburst of literary activity towards the latter half of the twelfth century. The same reasoning which would lead us to expect little from the Jews of Germany or France during this period would cause us to expect brighter things from the Jews of England. The result of my researches during the past five years has shown that this general presumption was not unjustified. Some of the results at which I have arrived are still hypothetical, but others have been remarkably confirmed by new discoveries, while

others, while still remaining in the hypothetical stage, have been accepted by leading authorities on the subject, *e.g.*, Prof. Bacher, the greatest living authority on the history of Jewish grammar, has accepted my dating of the Anglo-Jewish grammarians, Moses ben Yomtob and Moses ben Isaac. At the same time I wish to emphasise that much of what I am about to sketch is still hypothetical, and awaits further investigation and confirmation.

The English Jews seem nevertheless to have received their first impetus from their neighbours the French Jews. The earliest whom we can trace is R. Simeon Chasid of Treves, who appears to have been over here for some 40 years (1106-46; see pp. 23, 253). But it was from Orleans that the chief scholars came. Jacob of Orleans was over here at the coronation of Richard I., and Joseph of Orleans, known as Joseph Bechor Shor, was, according to my hypothesis, the head Jew of London, nearly 60 years earlier. Other French Jews of distinction who helped to kindle the torch of learning in this country were R. Yomtob of Joigny the leader of the York community, who was the prime instigator of the self-slaughter of 1190; R. Samuel ben Solomon of Falaise, known as "Sir Morell of England," and, according to my views, R Elchanan ben Isaac of Dampierre and his most important pupil Jehuda ben Isaac, "Sir Leon of Paris" (see next section). Besides these, other Jewish visitors from France mentioned as scholars are Chaim of Paris, whom I identify with Vives de Paris (*supra* p. 240), Isaac ben Yomtob of Joigny, Joseph ben Jacob of Morell for whom Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote his *Yesod Moreh* in London, and R. Moses of Paris (*supra* p. 225).

The most illustrious of the visitors, however, was Abraham Ibn Ezra, who was certainly in England from May to December of the year 1158 and probably visited it again in 1166 when

Joseph ben Jacob heard him interpret Genesis according to the second version of his commentary which is dated in that year (*supra* p. 263). The mere fact of his visit implies a body of learned Jews capable of appreciating his lectures. Now it is characteristic that in his *Yesod Moreh*, written in London, May, 1158, when dealing with the subjects of study current among Jews he places first the knowledge of the Massora, *i e* of the grammatical peculiarities of the Sacred Text. For among the Jewish scholars I would locate in England in the twelfth century some of the most important were Massorites, called *Nakdanim* or Punctuators. Indeed it may be said with some confidence that in the twelfth century England was the home of the Massora.

The earliest master of the Massora and Hebrew Grammar was Samuel Nakdan, whose work on Hebrew Grammar is still extant in MS. at the Berlin Royal Library (see Steinschneider's *Catalog*, p. 100, and *supra* p. 162). His views are expressly stated by Steinschneider to bear signs of priority to the influence of the Spanish and Provençal school of the Kimchis. It is therefore not surprising that we find his authority quoted by Berachyah Nakdan (p. 198) and R. Benjamin of Canterbury (or Cambridge) both of whom were in England and opposed to the new philology introduced by the Kimchis. The comments of the latter especially, on Joseph Kimchi's grammatical treatise *Sepher Galuy*, are a running protest in the name of Samuel. Him I identify with the Samuel le Pointur of Bristol mentioned in the Northampton Donum of 1194.

Besides these authorities on the Massora there were two Anglo-Jewish scholars of the name of Moses who executed important works of a Massoretic and grammatical character. The earlier of these, Moses ben Yomtob of London, is declared

by a Berlin codex to be the author of the *Darke Nikud* or "Rules of Punctuation" which is to this day appended to the editions of the Rabbinic Bibles and may be thus regarded as the standard text-book on the subject. He is quoted by his pupil Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah (Comitissa of Cambridge) whose work *Sepher Shoham* or "Onyx Book" has not yet been completely edited. He shows the influence of the elder Kimchi, so that the independence of the English school of Massorites had been broken down by the comparative philology applied by the Spanish and Provençal Jews to Hebrew for the first time in the history of the science. Moses ben Isaac shows some acquaintance with Arabic. Altogether the English grammatical school—consisting of Samuel Nakdan, Moses Nakdan, Benjamin of Cambridge and Moses ben Isaac—was the most important one in North Europe during the latter half of the twelfth century.

Besides grammar there is some evidence of a proficiency in legal casuistry among the English Jews. A reference in the long genealogy given above, p. 254, shows that Yomtob the father of Moses Nakdan was the author of a work entitled *Sepher Tanaim*, and from a reference by Zunz (*Zur Geschichte* 193) it would seem that this was a legal work. Decisions by R. Moses, of London and R. Menachem, of London have also been found during my researches (*supra* pp. 287-292), though it now turns out that the former was probably of the thirteenth century. The remarkable code of education given on pp. 243-251 deserves mention here as a proof of wide culture. And Prof. Kaufmann has recently shown from a Hebrew MS. in the Leipzig Municipal Library, dated 1287, that the English Jews of the thirteenth century had a characteristic ritual which was probably developed from the French form in the twelfth, if, as is also possible, it did not preserve the original form brought from France in the eleventh century. One liturgical piece, composed by R. Yomtob

of Joigny, later of York, for the Day of Atonement, the great fast of the Jewish calendar, has proved to be the most popular hymn of that solemn day and is still used in all the synagogues of the Ashkenazic or so-called German rite.

Of science there is but little trace. One of the visitors, Elchanan ben Isaac, was the author of an astronomical work *Sod Ha-Ibbur*, now lost, while Berachyah Nakdan translated a treatise on mineralogy corresponding to the mediæval Lapidaria as well as Adelard of Bath's *Quæstiones Naturales* (*supra* pp. 196-98). Berachyah was indeed a most versatile writer. Besides these translations of scientific works, he commented on several books of the Old Testament (p. 198), wrote an ethical treatise (p. 172), was a grammarian of repute as his byname of *Nakdan* would imply and, above all, was the author of the *Mishle Shualim* or "Fox Fables." This was a collection of 107 Fables of the Æsopic kind, many of which were derived from the East, and bears the marks of adaptation or translation (pp. 165-172). They are written in rhymed prose with much vigour and wit, and stamp Berachyah Nakdan as one of the most original and striking figures in mediæval Jewish literature. My researches into Anglo-Jewish history would be sufficiently rewarded if I have succeeded in reclaiming for his native land Berachyah Nakdan, henceforth, I hope, to be known as Benedict le Puncteur of Oxford.

XVIII.—WAS SIR LEON EVER IN LONDON?

Most persons who see the above query will be inclined to answer it *more Hibernico* by two others: Who was Sir Leon? and, What does it matter if he did or did not come to London? I will soon answer the first, and the other query will answer itself during the course of this inquiry.

Who, then, was Sir Leon? On opening a page of the Talmud the reader will observe in the middle of it the text of

the Gemara in square characters, meandering between two columns of commentary in the so-called "Rashi" type. The inner margin is taken up by the comments of Rashi himself (R. Solomon ben Isaac, 1040—1105), without which the text of the Gemara would be incomprehensible. The outer margin is taken up by additions (Tosaphoth) by a number of Jewish scholars who followed in Rashi's wake during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are known in Jewish literature as the Tosaphists or Adders: the Hebrew root is the same as that of Joseph, who was also an adder, or addition. There are nearly 200 of them named in the Tosaphoth, and the great scholar Zunz has compiled a list of them in his *Zur Geschichte* (pp. 29-59). Among these, three stand out prominent: R. Tam, Rashi's grandson, in the middle of the twelfth century; R. Meir, of Rothenburg, who died in 1293; and, between the two, Jehuda ben Isaac, called also "Sir Leon of Paris," holds perhaps the most prominent position. Zunz (p. 35) sums up what is known of his life and connections in the following paragraph:

"Jehuda ben Isaac of Paris, called Sir Leon, born 1166, died 1224, was a pupil of the elder Isaac [b. Samuel of Dompaire] (and of his son Elchanan, it is added in a note) and his father-in-law Abraham was the son of R. Jehoseph [of Orleans] His Tosaphoth are frequently quoted, especially those on the Tractates Sabbath, Berachoth and Jebamoth. He received the surname of 'the Pious,' corresponded with R. Joseph ben Isaac, and among his pupils was Jehuda Cohen of Friedberg."

Dr. Gross has written an elaborate account of Sir Leon's Tosaphoth, and the authorities therein quoted (Berliner's *Magazin*, 1877, pp. 173-187), but adds nothing to the above biographical details. We know, however, the important fact (for our present inquiry) that Philip Augustus drove all Jews

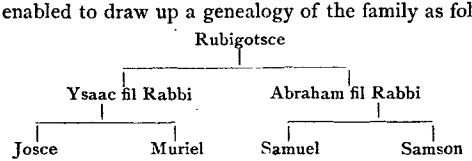
out of Paris in 1182, when Sir Leon was a youngster of 16, and did not allow them to return till 1198, after which time Sir Leon returned to his native place and founded there an important School of Tosaphists. The point I wish to make is that Sir Leon lived in England during the period 1182-98.

The point which first led me to this conjecture was his somewhat peculiar name. There are only two "Knights" given among the Tosaphists, "Sir" Leon, and "Sir" Morell. The latter, whose full name was R. Samuel b. Solomon of Falaise, is on one occasion definitely referred to as "Sir Morell of England" (see *supra*, p. 53). Guided by this clue I have been able to determine the date of "Sir" Morell's death. For in the Pipe Roll of 3 Richard I. under the heading "Nordf et Sudf. Nova Oblata," there is an entry stating that Josce Crispin and the two daughters of Morell and their sureties, owe 100 shillings for sharing the books of the said Morell. The very passage from which we know Sir Morell to have been in England, informs us that he had three daughters.

We know "Sir Morell" to have been in England, and we find here a scholar named Morell dying in the year 1192, leaving behind so many books that there had to be a decision of the court for their partition among his daughters. The only biographical fact given by Zunz in connection with "Sir" Morell is that he was a teacher of R. Elias, the martyr of Aborwick, and Dr. Neubauer has already suggested that the name of the town is York, which would fix his martyrdom in 1190, two years before his master Morell died at Norwich. On the other hand it is clear that Sir Morell could not have been, as Zunz asserts, the teacher of Meir of Rothenburg, who was not born at the time of Morell's death. Altogether we may take it for established that Sir Morell was one of the long sought-for "Wise men of Norwich," and died about 1192 leaving two daughters.

"Sir" Morell being thus shown to be from England, it becomes probable that the title "Sir" is a specially English one, just as "En" is specially Provençal. We ought, therefore, to expect to find the other "Sir," Sir Leon of Paris, also in England. If he was in this country there is every reason for expecting to find traces of him in the Latin records which begin to grow specially numerous and accessible towards the end of the twelfth century, just at the time when, if ever, he visited these shores. We have especially two lists of the early London Jews compiled respectively at Guildford in 1186 and at Northampton in 1194, which ought to give us what we want (*supra*, pp. 89 and 163).

I would direct the reader's attention to the second name in the Guildford list on p. 89, viz., Leo Blund. In the list he is sandwiched between Abraham fil Rabbi and Abraham's son Samuel, both Leo and Samuel are placed among the richest contributors, though their own contributions are but modest; there is therefore a presumption that Leo was in some way connected with Abraham fil Rabbi, the second most important personage in the London community of the time. Now we know from Abraham's brother, Isaac fil Rabijoce, that their father was named Joseph, and he happens to occur under the curious form "Rubigotsce" in the only Pipe Roll extant from the reign of Hen. I. dated 1130-1. From other materials in my possession I am enabled to draw up a genealogy of the family as follows:



In the earliest list then of London Jews we have an Abraham, son of Joseph, put side by side with a Leon just when "Sir Leon" was of age, and could not have been in Paris, and we

know that Sir Leon was married to the daughter of Abraham, son of Joseph. It is the most obvious step to identify Sir Leon with Leo Blund and Abraham ben Jehoseph with Abraham fil Rabbi. See, too, how this agrees with another biographical item given by Zunz. Sir Leon corresponded with one R. Joseph ben Isaac, and among the cousins of the wife we have provisionally given him is a Josce fil Ysaac, who, in 1194, was the second richest man in the London community, as we know from the list of London Jews in the Northampton Donum (*supra*, p. 163). This list also contains Leo Blund in the form "Leun le Blund," or "the Blond" from which we learn that Sir Leon, if this be he, was a fair Jew, which was probably a greater rarity in the early middle ages than now when bad nurture has introduced so much eruthrism among Jews. The only other notice of Leo is that he entered into partnership with Deulebenie of Chichester. In the 10th year of Ric. I., 1198-9, all the Jewish items of the Pipe Rolls, including the arrears of the Guildford tallage, were transferred to special Jews rolls no longer extant for John's reign. But Leo Blund does not occur in the Charter, Patent, Close, Fine or Oblate Rolls for John's reign which are all extant and printed—all of which confirms the probability that he left England somewhere about 1198, just the time when Sir Leon was enabled to return to his native place, Paris. Though he returned, I find evidence that he left behind him in England a son, Abraham. For in the Oblate Rolls, printed by Roberts for the Record Commission, there is a treble mention of one "Abraham fil Jude de Parisiis," who lived somewhere in Somerset in the years 1205-8. Few will doubt that this is a son of Jehuda ben Isaac of Paris, named Abraham in honour of his maternal grandfather, and probably identical with Abraham ben Jehuda mentioned among the Tosaphists (Bama Kama 87b., *ap.* Zunz, Z.G, 48), and if Sir

Leon's son is found in England, the presumption is increased that he himself had stayed here for some years.. The fact that his son does not call himself Abraham fil Leonis need not disturb us. Mr. M. D. Davis has frequently pointed out how names varied between the sacred and secular. It would be quite normal for a Jehuda to call himself Leo, in reference to Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlix. 9), for his English neighbours to call him "Leo the Blond" because of his fair hair, for his Paris friends to call him "Sir Leon" because of his English ways, and for after-ages to refer to him as "Sir Leon of Paris," because his chief activity as Tosaphist was shown in that city. It would be equally natural that Abraham would think of his father as R. Jehuda, of Paris, who was by this time establishing himself as the greatest Talmudical authority of the age. Altogether there is established sufficient probability of the identification of Sir Leon with Leo Blund for us to adapt it as a provisional hypothesis and proceed to verify it by working out its consequences.

For if Sir Leon were Leo Blund and Abraham fil Rabbi's son-in-law, Abraham fil Rabbi was R. Abraham ben Joseph of Orleans, an important Tosaphist, and his father "Rubigotsce" was R. Jehoseph of Orleans, a still more important Tosaphist. Drs. Berliner and Gross even identify Joseph of Orleans with Joseph Bechor Shor, the most important twelfth century exegete after Abraham ibn Ezra; his commentary on the first three books of the Pentateuch was edited thirty years ago by Dr. Jellinek. A remarkable and unexpected confirmation of this is given by the seal figured on p. 26. There is mention of a R. Solomon ben Isaac, a stranger, being concerned with R. Joseph of Orleans in settling a dispute, and the very seal of this stranger is found in these islands. This relation with Orleans explains why R. Jacob of Orleans was over in London in 1189, when he was

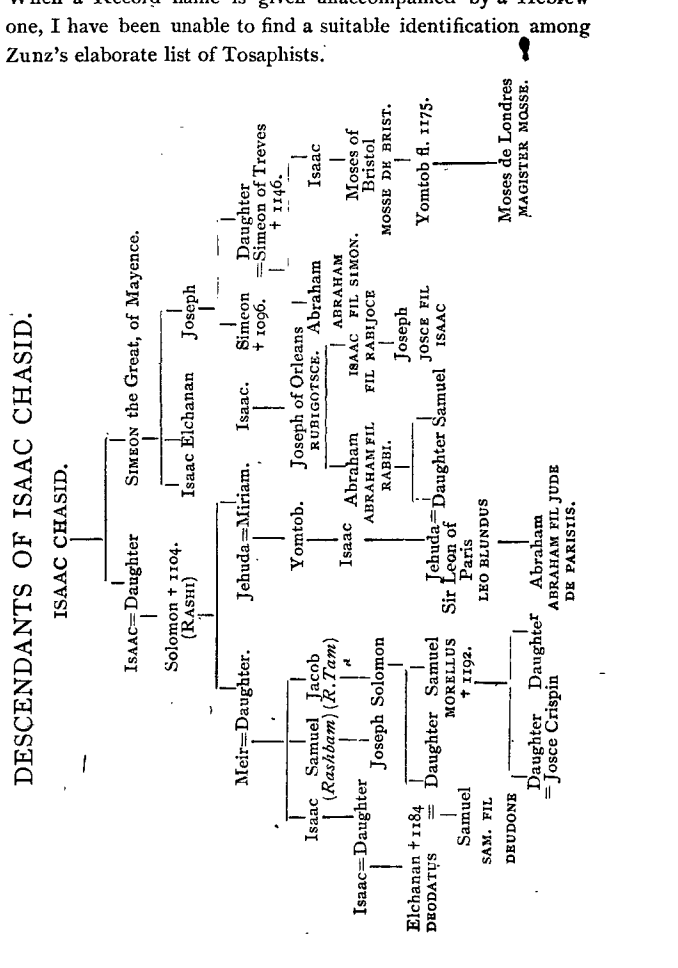
murdered at Richard I.'s coronation. R. Jehuda of Paris (Sir Leon) quotes R. Joseph of Orleans as his master (Zunz, *Litg.* 285) which agrees with our hypothesis. The heads of the London community had hereditary connection with Orleans. Still more follows. For as Leo Blund was here already established in 1186, he must have come over here almost immediately after leaving Paris in 1182, and must therefore have received his finishing in Talmudic learning in this country. But his chief masters were the elder Isaac, Rashi's great-grandson, and Elchanan, the son of the said Isaac. Now it is a striking thing that there was a "Deodatus Episcopus Judæorum" flourishing at London just at the time when Sir Leon was at the age of a learner: he is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of 23-4 Hen. II. (1177-8). Dr. H. Adler has already suggested that the Hebrew name of Deodatus was either Nathaniel or Elchanan (*Papers Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 262), and it would of course strengthen my case immensely if Deodatus turns out to be the Elchanan ben-Isaac, who taught Sir Leon. What do we know of this Elchanan? In the Response of Solomon Luria, which forms the basis of our knowledge of the succession of the Tosaphists, it is mentioned that Elchanan was killed in the year 1184 (Graetz, *Gesch.* vi.). Now Deodatus was we have seen an Episcopus or *Dayan* in London in 1178, and in 1186 we find the three *Dayanim* to be Isaiah, Vives, and Abraham. It is certain therefore, if my interpretation of Episcopus (see Appendix x.) is correct, that Deodatus had died in the interim, which exactly agrees with what we know of Elchanan. Elchanan, too (Zunz *Litg.* 253), married a sister of R. Samuel ben Solomon, who can be no other than Sir Morell of England. We may, therefore, state with some assurance that whether Sir Leon was in London or not, Deodatus, "Bishop of the Jews," was Elchanan ben Isaac, Rashi's great-great-grandson. And here again we

get a confirmation from the records. Elchanan had a son Samuel, and I find a Samuel fil Deudone (the French form of Deodatus) mentioned in Roberts's Oblates, p. 415 (where correct "Judi" to "Judo"). If Elchanan did not come to London, this series of coincidences would be one of the most remarkable in existence, and if Elchanan was here, Sir Leon must have studied under him in London. The *Tosaphoth* of R. Elchanan still extant among the Halberstamm MSS. at Judith Montefiore College, do not help to settle the question. They were written in France and only show general knowledge of English Judaism (of *supra*, p. 269), but there is no indication when then were written.

The reader will now begin to see the importance for Anglo-Jewish history of the question put at the head of this section. The student of Jewish literature will perhaps better appreciate its importance when I sum up my investigations by stating that, if Sir Leon came to London, all the known members of the fourth and fifth generation of Rashi's descendants can be shown to have lived in England. It must be remembered that we have now evidence of the emigration to England of a family closely related to that of Rashi being descended from Simeon the Great (the elder), of Mayence, his maternal uncle, so that we can trace nearly all the English rabbis of literary tastes to Rashi's grandfather, Isaac Chasid (*supra*, p. 253). In order to exhibit this in the most succinct, though possibly the driest way, I will borrow from Zunz's *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 253, the most complete genealogical table of Rashi's descendants yet given to the world, adding to it Dr. Gross's identification of the descent of Sir Leon from Rashi, and placing beneath the names the Record names of the English Jews whom I identify with Rashi's descendants and their connections by marriage (*see* genealogy next page). I may add that I have ventured to identify the Solomon who was

son of R. Tam with the Solomon who was father of "Sir Morell." When a Record name is given unaccompanied by a Hebrew one, I have been unable to find a suitable identification among Zunz's elaborate list of Tosaphists.

DESCENDANTS OF ISAAC CHASID.



I have now given enough from my Record studies to show a *primâ facie* case that Sir Leon did come to London, and that consequently the remaining seven Tosaphists were also in England, and I regard the case of Elchanan as being something more than *primâ facie*. The rest must be left to professed students of the Tosaphoth to whom I must leave the decision of the question, though I would remind the reader that if my conjectures prove well founded, a considerable body of Hebrew poetry, as well as a large amount of Halachic discussion and exegetical comment will for the future form part of the early annals of English Judaism, which would henceforth be indispensable for the study of the Tosaphoth and incidentally of French phonology.

One more consideration and I shall have given all that I can at present contribute to the discussion of the question I have raised. It should not be surprising if it turn out that a considerable number of French Tosaphists visited or inhabited England. For during the reign of the Angevin Kings (1154-1206), London was the most important *French* city in Europe. The King who had his chief residence in London was Lord of Anjou, of Bretagne, of Poitou, and of Gascony, and Duke of Normandy, as well as King of England; the so-called King of France was practically at this period only King of the Isle of France. It should, therefore, not surprise us if the French Rabbis, who were obliged to be men of business as well, paid visits to the centre of Angevin commerce and sometimes settled in this country, especially during the seventeen years (1182-98) during which they were excluded from the Isle de France. The second earliest Hebrew Shetar we possess is signed by Solomon of Paris, another Vives of Paris is also mentioned about this time, and Jacob de Paris occurs in the Guildford Tallage. Why should not Leon of Paris have also come over? Even if it is

never expressly mentioned that he did, that need not disturb us. After John lost Normandy and the other French possessions of the English crown in 1206, England ceased to have any interest for the later Rabbis who drew up the Tosaphoth in their present form. It is only by the merest chance mention of Ephraim of Bonn that we know that the head of the York community in 1190 was R. Yomtob of Joigny, and that R. Jacob of Orleans, was massacred in London. I hope that some Tosaphist scholar may likewise chance upon a similar reference proving that Jehuda ben Isaac, known as Sir Leon, did come to London about 1182, and confirming the important conclusions which I have shown can be deduced from the fact.

XIX.—ANGLO-JEWISH RABBIS OF THE XIIth CENTURY.

I have thought it desirable to give for the information of Jewish students a rather full bibliography of the passages in secondary authorities where the various Rabbis whom I have located in England in the twelfth century have been mentioned and discussed. In each case I give in brackets after the secondary authority the passages from the originals referred to by the various writers. These are mostly passages in the *Tosaphoth* or supercommentaries on the Talmud, and are quoted by the treatise and folio of the Talmud on which they occur. For other works reference will be necessary to Zunz's epoch-making volume on the literature of the mediæval French and German Jews, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, Berlin, 1845.

The references are mostly given in a very shortened form, of which the following list will afford the key.

Kohn=Kohn, *Mordechai ben Hillel*, 1879.

Mag.=Berliner, *Magazin für judische Litteratur.*

R.E.J.=*Revue des études juives*, Paris, 1880, seq.

R.F.=*Rabbins Français*, by Renan and Neubauer, in *Histoire litteraire de la France*, t. xxvii.

Z.G.=Zunz, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte.*

Zunz *Lit. ges* =*Litteratur der Synagogalen Poesie*, 1865.

The references to Mordecai (*Mord.*) are to the *Mordecai*, mentioned in § xvi, s. v. Unfortunately there is a variation in the method of citation among Jewish scholars, and I have not been able to check the references. Those of the names that I regard as still uncertain in my identification with English Jews mentioned in the records are accompanied by a mark of interrogation.

AARON OF CANTERBURY, p. 98, exegete.

[Z.G. 96 *Minhat Jehuda*, Deut. xxvi. 2 (*supra* p. 48). *Orient*, 1850, p. 550. *Univers Israélite*, 1852, p. 357. *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, v. 161 See Note on p. 98 in § xx.]

ABRAHAM BEN JEHUDA (? Abraham fil Jude de Parisiis), p. 240, Tosaphist.

[Z.G. 48 (Kama 87b, Batra 43a, Kidd 15a). Roberts, *De Oblatis*, pp. 296, 315, 416.]

ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH OF ORLEANS (? Abraham fil Rabbi), p. 178, Tosaphist, father-in-law of "Sir Leon."

[Z.G. 35, 47 (Ber. 45b, *supra* p. 178. Macc. 6b, Erub. 77b, 81a. Kidd, 15a, Batra. 5a). Kohn, *Mord.* (Beza I. 655, Ab. Sara II. 830. Berach. VI. 158). *Mag.* II. 93. (*Or Sarua* I. 58a. Mord. Beza i. Berach, c. 7.)]

BENJAMIN OF CANTERBURY (? Magister Binjamin de Cantebrigia), pp. 54, 281, grammarian.

[Kohn, *Mord.* (Ab. Sara II. 826, *supra* p. 54). S. D. Luzzato in *Mag.* II., 126. Kimchi, *Sepher Galuy* passim. S. Luria, Response 29, ap. Graetz *Gesch.* vi. 365.]

BERACHYAH BEN NATRONAI CRISPIA NAKDAN (Benedict le puncteur de Oxon', pp. 165-73, 196-9, 278-280, exegete, grammarian, Tosaphist, translator, and *litterateur.*

[Z.G. 56 (Sanhedrin 20b), 97 (Minhat Jehuda 85b, 87b), 101, 117, 127, 144, *supra* p. 172). R.F. 490 *seq.* (full bibliography to date). Steinschneider *Heb. Letterbode* viii. Jacobs, *Æsop*, i. 167-78. *Jew. Quart. Rev.* ii. 322-38, 620-26. The only work of Berachyah's yet printed is his *Mishle Shualim* ("Fox Fables"), the ED. PR. of which appeared at Mantua, 1557, a complete Latin translation by M. Hanel at Prague in 1661.]

CHAIM OF PARIS (Vives de Paris, see Name-List), Tosaphist.

[Kohn, *Mord.* 104 (B. Kama, viii. 87).]

ELCHANAN BEN ISAAC (? Deodatus Episcopus Judæorum), 45, 64, 65, 81, 269. Tosaphist, astronomer, poet, † 1184.

[Z.G. 34 (Gittin 72a, Mezia 111b, Sheb. 28a, Mord. *Aboda* § 1364, *Ker. Chem* vii. 69), 37 (Joma 14a, 23 in Amst. ed. 1753), 80, 93, 97, 100, 102, 193, 208. Sal. Luria, *Resp.* 29 (Gz. vi.). Zunz, *Syn. Poes.*, 249 (*supra*, p. 81), Halberstamm *Cat.* No. 65. R.E.J. iv. 221, No. 64 (Luzzato, *Hal. Kedem* 46), vii 73 (Mord. § 952, 942, 953, *Mag.* iv. 186, 203, and 279). Kohn, *Mord.* (Chol. iii. 613, Ab. Sara v. 808)]

ELIA THE MARTYRED OF YORK † 1190.

[R.F. 446, 736. Z.G. 49 (Joma 27a, Sebachim 14b), pupil of Sir Morell.]

ELIA MENACHEM, see Menachem.

ISAAC BEN YOMTOB OF JOIGNY (Ysaac de Juueignj), pp. 88, 241, Tosaphist.

[Zunz, *Lit. ges.* 286. (*Or Sarua* Millah § 99.) Z.G. 52. (Aboda sara 67b, Hateruma, § 50, Rokeach § 475) R.E.J. vii. 43.]

[JEHUDA BEN ISAAC OF PARIS, "SIR LEON" 1166-1224 (? Leo Blundus), pp. 70, 88. Tosaphist, son-in-law of R. Abraham ben Joseph.

[Z.G. 35. (Piske Recanate 160, *Semag* § 211, Chullin 47a, 100b, Chagiga 25b, Jebam, 106a, Joseph Colon *Resp.*

31, 167. *Hagahot Mord*, Kidd § 1017, Semag ed. 1547, f. 102a, 118c, *Semak* 135b, 139b, *Col Bo*, No 37, Recanate *Pesak.* 199), 37 (Moses of Coucy his scholar), 38 Semag 2a, 33b, &c.), 47, 53, 58, 59. R.F. 438, 441, 444. Gross in Berliner *Magazin* 1877, 173-187 [Full Bibliography]. Add. Z.G. 26, 51, 74, 76, 79, 80, 85, 89, 91, 92, 93, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 118, 125, 126, 135, 162, 193, 205, 566. R.E.J. iv. 220, No. 54 (Zunz, *Ritus* 198).]

JACOB OF ORLEANS, † 1189, exegete, Tosaphist.

[Z G. 38 (Tos. Joma ed. Amst. 1753, 34a), 51 (Gittin 8b, Jebam. 4a, Ketub. 47a, Sebach. 14b, &c.), 75 (Minchat Jeh. 1b, 3ab, 4ab, 6b, 7b, 16b, 16a, &c.), 91, 93, 97, 103, 104, 193. R.F. 438, 441, 446. Ephraim of Bonn in Wiener's "Emek Habacha," p. 9. R.E.J. iv. 219, No. 41 (*Mag.* I. 78, 87), Kohn, *Mordecai* 125 (Gitt. II. 341, Kama X. 169, Ket. II. 148), vii. 71 (Simson on Sifra 38b, Men. 27b 35b). Luzzato (III. 466, 1287, IV. 630, 735, 860.)]

JOSEPH BEN JACOB, of Morell, pp. 29, 20, 263, exegete, pupil of Abraham Ibn Esra.

[Graetz, *Geschichte*, vi. Neubauer *Cat. Bodl. Heb. MSS.* 486]

JOSEPH B. ISAAC, (Josce fil Ysaac). Tosaphist, poet.

[Z.G. 25, 52 (Aboda sara 67b, Hateruma § 50, Rokeach § 475.) Others 75, 101. *Litg.* 285.]

JOSEPH BECHOR SHOR (=Jehoseph of Orleans), exegete, Tosaphist.

[Z.G. 52 (Macc. 6a, 8a), 74 (Sal. Luria *Resp.* 29, Meir Roth. *Resp.* 863, Semak 151 f, 50. 183 f. 67, 194 f. 79, Mord. *Kidd.* init., *Hagah. Mord.* Jebam. § 741, *Col Bo.*, No. 75, Geiger Zt. v. 418), 78, 80, 86, 89 (*Daat Zeken.* 58a, 70a, 86b, 89a), 97 (*Minh. Jeh.* 1b, 2a, 11b, 22b, 31b, 32b, &c.), 99, 101, 102, 104, 198. *Litg.* 282-3, Stein-

schneider, *Cat. Bodl.* No. 5887, *Cat. Munich MSS.* Geiger, *Parshandatha*, R.E.J. iii. 6 (*Mag.* i. 93), iv. 223, No. 50 (*Mag.* iv. 073, *Monats.* xxvi. 361, Kohn, *Mord.* 135-6). R.F. 435, 437, 441, 443, 488, 558. See Joseph of Orleans. His commentary on Genesis and Exodus was edited by Jellinek, 1856.

JOSEPH OF ORLEANS ? = Rubigotce, fl. 1130.—Rubigotce is clearly Rabbi Josce or Joseph, and is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of Henry I., 1130, *supra* pp. 15, 23-5, 27, 217, 259.

[Z.G. 33 (*Hajashar* § 686; *Hagah. Maim.* on Shophetim, No. 20, Ketub. 70a, Jebam. 15b, Sebach. 12a, Menach. 31b, Sabbat 12a, 41a, 107b, &c.), 75 (*Hajashar* 71a, 78a). R.E J. iii. 6 (*Mag.* I 93), iv. 220, No. 48. See Joseph Bechor Shor.]

MENACHEM OF LONDON, also known as R. Elia Menachem, legal authority, pp. 287-9.

[Z.G. 98 (Minhat Jehuda 46a.) *Sepher Shoham*, c. 8.]

MOSES BEN ISAAC HANASSIAH, grammarian, author of *Sepher Hashoham* (ed. Collins, I. 1882) and *Leshon Lemudim* (youthful work, lost), pp 251, 253.

[Z.G. 112 (Wolf, ii 596, *Orient* 1844, 518) R.F. 484-7, Bacher in Winter-Wuensche *Jüd. Litteratur*, ii. 233 (Rosin in Graetz, *Monats.* xxxii, 232-40)]

MOSES BEN JACOB, p. 287, pupil of R. Menachem.

MOSES BEN YOMTOB, p. 282, Massorite, grammarian, author of *Darke Nikud*, Rules of Punctuation appended to Rabbinical Bibles, published separately, Vilna, 1822 and by Frendsdorf, Frankfort. 1854, perhaps identical with R. Moses of London.

[Z.G. 111, 567, Steinschneider *Bibl. Handbuch* 95, *Berl. Cat.* R.F. 484, R.E.J. xii. 73-9. Moses Ben Isaac cites him as his teacher, ed. Collins p. 37. Bacher in Pref. to his edition of J. Kimchi's *Sepher Zicharon* and in Winter-Wünsche, ii. 234, also *Jew. Quart. Rev.* i. 182, ii. 322-7.]

MOSES OF LONDON (Magister Mosse de Londres), pp. 289-92, legal authority, perhaps identical with Moses ben Yomtob, but more probably of the middle of the thirteenth century.

[*Jew. Quart. Rev.* iv. 551, 553, 557, v. 156 seq. and Note on p. 289 in § xx.]

MOSES OF PARIS, pp. 225, 229, legal authority.

SAMUEL NAKDAN (Samuel le Pointur de Bristowe) p. 162. Massorite and grammarian.

[Steinschneider, *Cat. Heb. MSS. Berlin.* p. 100, ap. Kobak *Jeshurun* v. 146, Bacher in Winter-Wuensche, *l. c.*]

SAMUEL BEN SOLOMON "SIR MORELL," † 1192, Tosaphist, pp. 53, 146.—Came from Falaise in Normandy to England.

[Z.G. 37 (*Or Sarua* ap. Mord *Chullin* § 1127, *Semak* f. 82b, Sal. Luria *Resp.*, No 29, Gz. vi. *Shaare Dura* § 75 Pesach. 73b, Joma 40b, 42a. *Catalog. Cod. Lips.*, p. 317), 49 (teacher of R. Elia of York), 90 (*Daat Zekenim* 11b, 26b, 73b). R.F. 438, 445, Zunz *Lit. Ges.* 253, *Nachtr.* 40 (brother-in-law of Elchanan ben Isaac, whom I have identified with Deodatus Episcopus Judœorum).

SAMUEL BEN ELCHANAN (? Samuel fil Deudone). Tosaphist.

[Z.G. 55 (Arachin 18b). Roberts *Obl.* p. 425.]

YOMTOB BEN ISAAC OF JOIGNY, † 1190. Tosaphist, poet and martyr at York, pp. 109=112, 125.

[Z.G. 52 (Erubin 95a, Sebach. 15b, 64a, Chullin 87a, Joma 48a, Keritot 14b, Jebamot 37b, 44a, Menachot 88a, Kidd. 38a), 86 (*Cat. Cod. Lips.*, p. 315), 100, 119, 193, 327. Zunz *Lit. ges.* 286-7. R.F. 446. R.E.J. iii. 4, 5 (Mord 1524), vii. 72 (Simson on Sifra 113b). Kohn *Mord* 134 (Sabb. i. 250, *Hag.* ib. 452).]

YOMTOB BEN MOSES OF BRISTOL, pp. 253, 293, author of a legal work *Sepher Tanaim*.

[Z G. 193. *Jew. Quart. Rev.* iii. 778.]

XX.—ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

This book has been so long passing through the press that many additional pieces of information have come to my notice after parts of it have been printed off, while further reflection has at times modified my views on various points. Some of the sheets were printed off rather hurriedly, some even in error, and contain therefore various misprints and lacunæ. The more important of these addenda and corrigenda I propose to give in the following notes.

P. 7. This might have been written during any of Anselm's three visits to England, 1093-7, 1100-3, 1107-9. I am now inclined to put it late during the last visit owing to my identification of the Jewish interlocutor with R. Simeon Chasid. See p. 254.

P. 18. On usury in mediæval England, see Prof. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry*, i. § 84.

P. 19 Thomas of Monmouth's account (*infra*, p. 256) is nearly contemporary.

P. 23. R. Simeon, the Saint of Trier or Treves, I identify with the interlocutor in the Disputation, *supra* p. 7. See p. 254.

P. 26. The seal is now numbered NM 51. See *Cat. Nat. Mus. Antiq. Scotland*, 1892, p. 369; also *Proc R. S. A. Scotl.*, i. 39, 50, and H. Laing, *Supplementary Cat. of Scottish Seals*, No. 1294.

P. 27*n*. *Angeon* should of course be *Angevin*.

P. 29. By a curious coincidence the Hebrew name of the compiler of the present book is also Joseph ben Jacob.

P. 32*n*. I have now given up the suggested interpretation of "Dovos"=Dover, in favour of "Rodom"=Rouen. See p. 263.

P. 35. The seven divisions or climes are those of Arabic geography. See Lelewel, *Geographie du Moyen Age*.

P. 39*n*. What is wrong here is my transcription. Mr. C. T. Martin has kindly looked up the original for me, and finds the sum mentioned is ten pounds, which would make the interest right.

P. 49*n*. Hakelin is rather the diminutive of Isaac, *i.e.*, Isaquelin.

P. 52. Miss Norgate has kindly called my attention to the fact that it is only William of Newburgh who gives the confiscation of Richard Strongbow's estates as occurring after the expedition to Ireland.

P. 53. "Menacham" should be "Menachem."

P. 54. I have conjectured that R. Benjamin of Canterbury was rather R. Benjamin of Cambridge. See p. 282.

P. 56. P.R. item 25*n*. It was only six years after coming into his property that Malebysse got into difficulties. See *infra* p. 77.

P. 65. P.R. item No. 30. "Southampton" is a mistake for South Hampshire.

80. Mr. Hubert Hall has pointed out to me that the sum originally lent was more probably 40 marks, though 100 are mentioned in the deed. The deed would be then an early example of the legal offence known as *Chevisance*. The same view is taken in the *Athenæum* review of Mr. Round's book, July 20, 1889.

P. 87. "Badpass" is still called Malpas to this day.

P. 92. "Hard beard" should be "hard heart."

P. 98. Mr. M. D. Davis has discovered a reference to Aaron of Canterbury in the Close Roll of 16 Hen. III., 1242, which proves that he was of the thirteenth century.—*Jew. Quart. Rev.* v., p. 158 *seq*.

P. 130. *Emsk* should be *Emek Habacha*.

P. 133. "Against the Jews" should be "against the enemies of the Jews."

P. 135*n*. The charter is given on p. 204.

P. 142. The exact date of the sketch of Moyse Hall is 1782.

P. 143, No. 111. See the Red Book documents quoted later, p. 269, for earlier indebtedness of the Earl of Arundel to Deulebenie.

P. 165. "That will" should be "that mill."

P. 181. XXX. "convicted" should be "converted."

P. 190. The calculation is incorrect. The whole amount owed = £140 + 200 (220 and 80 marks) + 110 + 50 = £500, of which £140 had been paid off, leaving £360 + usury to be fined for a single deed of £600 = 100 marks of gold.

P. 199. The omitted reference is to p. 23.

P. 203. For "Nottingham" read "Northampton."

P. 223. For "first" read "forest."

P. 228. The omitted reference is to p. 158.

P. 233, l. 3, "Wardens of cyrographers" should be "of cyrographs." They were probably identical with the "cyrographers" mentioned elsewhere, p. 235.

P. 235. For "consum" read "censum." The omitted references are to pp. 127, 157.

P. 240. "Abraham, son of the Jewess," should be "son of Judah," *i.e.*, of Judah of Paris.

P. 245. The omitted references are to pp. 111, 245.

P. 251. "*Sephes*" should be "*Sepher*."

P. 269. Mr. Hubert Hall has convinced me that I have post-dated these documents by twenty years. I judged by the reference in P.R. item 111, which deals with the indebtedness of an Earl of Arundel to Deulebenie. The transfretation of the King was probably that of 1173. See Miss Norgate, *l.c.* ii. 144, 145. The border warfare in Wales began again in 1174 (Norgate, *l.c.* p. 181), about which time these deeds should probably be dated. The Earl died in 1176. The indebtedness of the Earl to Deulebenie passed on to his son. See also p. 274.

P. 274. These items have now been published in Prof. Maitland's edition of the *Rolls of the King's Court, I.* (P. R. S.), pp. 30, 49. This also contains the following item :—

Norf[illegible]—¶ Pledges of Roger Briton because he is suspected of the death of Abraam, the Jew, for right of awaiting the coming of the Justices Philip Fitz Robert [and] Peter Walter—Nicholas the Butler, Osbert of Waggeford.

Professor Maitland dates the Roll 1194, so that this entry probably refers to one of the inquisitions into the massacres of 1189-90 referred to *supra* p. 155.

P. 289. Mr. M. D. Davis has published in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* v. p. 158 seq. an interesting extract from the Close Roll 26 Hen. III., 1242, referring to a divorce pronounced by Mag. Mosse de Londres. He identifies him with the Rabbi Moses ben Yomtob quoted by the author of the "Onyx Book" which he would accordingly date later. Unfortunately the dates of literary history are against this. Moses ben Isaac quotes only authors of the twelfth century, *e.g.*, Joseph Kimchi and not his greater son David, and cannot therefore be later than 1200 (*Cf.* Bacher in Winter-Wuensche, *Judische Litteratur*, ii. 208, 234). It is of course just possible that Moses ben Yomtob may have lived on to a very great age, and that the Mag. Mosse of the earliest list of London Jews *supra* p. 89) may be identical with the Mag. Mosse of the Close Roll of 1242. But this is improbable, and we must identify R. Moses ben Yomtob with the earlier Mag. Mosse, while R. Moses of London is probably an entirely different person, a legal authority and not a grammarian, of the thirteenth and not of the twelfth century. If Mr. Davis' article had appeared before the passages pp. 289-92 had been printed off I would have removed them from this book.

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